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Shamgar findings pin blame on GSS, Gillon

THE Shamgar Commission of Inquiry into the Assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday charged that for years the General Security Service has failed to protect the nation's leaders properly. In a hard-hitting report, the commission enumerated the security establishment's failures surrounding the assassination, with the GSS and its former chief, Karmi Gillon, receiving the toughest criticism. The police were also not spared. The 332-page report detailed ineptness by police commanders responsible for Rabin's safety, who gave orders to clear the parking lot where he was murdered, but failed to make sure they were implemented. A classified section touched on the relations between the Prime Minister's Office, the government authority in charge of the GSS, and the security service. "Our findings and conclusions, which appear

in this report, reflect conceptual and operational flaws in a wide range of areas, and weakness in the management of the national authorities," former Supreme Court president Meir Shamgar, who headed the commission, and members Zvi Zamir and Ariel Rozen-Zvi, wrote in the conclusion. "In this respect, the report serves as a warning sign for many different institutions." The report was made public in the early afternoon, after it had been presented to Prime Minister Shimon Peres and to the six GSS men and one police officer issued warning letters. They were allowed to review the classified sections inside Jerusalem's Beit Shalom, the building where the commission held its hearings. "I think they put their finger on the main points," Peres said after receiving the report. "They didn't waste their time on marginal issues. When a tragedy like this occurs, it is impossible not to learn a lesson. The situation cannot remain what it was. The fact that a prime minister was murdered under certain conditions, in a certain situation,

BILL HUTMAN necessitates that lessons be learned. I think that the Shamgar Commission's report provides the government with a direction and with recommendations on how to learn the necessary lessons." Peres declined to relate to the classified section, except to say: "I think the classified section I read today was also very trustworthy and reasonable. It was to the point, just like the rest of the report." The commission ended its report with a quote from the Talmud (Berachot): "Rabbi Yohanan said in the name of Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yohai: Bad culture in a man's home is worse than Armageddon," after calling for continued soul-searching. But the philosophical tone of the conclusion was not characteristic of the report as a whole, which delved deep into the details of the security failures surrounding the November 4 assassination. It gives a behind-the-scenes look at those

failures, from the lack of coordination between the police and GSS, and poor preparations by both, to a misreading of intelligence information on a Jewish assailant trying to kill the prime minister. The report emphasizes that "specific failures" at the assassination site were symptomatic of wider problems plaguing the GSS and police. It said the GSS bodyguards' failure to protect Rabin's back from the one angle from which Amir was able to approach and fire "gives the impression that the failure was specific and by chance. But to our sorrow, this is not the case." The commission found the police and GSS did not study each other's security plans for the night of the event. The police presented their plan to the GSS, but the GSS officers responsible did not review it. The police never received the GSS security plan. "The lack of knowledge of one body of the orders of the other... played more than a small part in the failures that led to the tragedy," the report said. The reports details how police commanders

called for extra manpower to help clear the Tel Aviv City Hall parking lot near where Rabin was later murdered, but the extra forces were late and, when they finally arrived, failed to do what they were ordered. Policemen and GSS bodyguards were also not properly briefed about the real threat of attack on the prime minister by a lone Jewish assailant, despite intelligence reports their commanders had received about such a threat. Instead, as Yigal Amir waited to carry his attack in full view near Rabin's route to his car, the GSS and police were more concerned about the threat of attack by Hamas and Islamic Jihad their commanders had briefed them on. Building on the specific failures, the commission went on to sharply criticize, even ridicule, both agencies - but the GSS in particular - for their handling of VIP security in general over the past several years. "The prime minister was not protected as he should have been the night he was murdered, and that failure was the result of a method of (Continued on Page 15)



Members of the security forces lead suspects captured in yesterday's raids to a collection point at the Bir Zeit soccer ground. (IDF Spokesman)

Commission clears GSS commander, rules 5 others and police officer negligent on night of Rabin murder

BILL HUTMAN ONE of the seven General Security Service and police officers issued warning letters in December by the Shamgar Commission, K., the head of the Non-Arah Affairs Division, was cleared in the final report released yesterday. The commission found "there were indeed some systematic flaws in the relay of information [on a potential attack on the premier by a Jewish extremist] from the GSS to the police." "However, these flaws are systematic and not personal and therefore the commission found no cause to draw personal conclusions against K.," who was responsible for intelligence information on extremist Jewish groups and individuals. The commission took the oth-

er officers to task for security failures on the night of prime minister's Yitzhak Rabin's assassination. The personal conclusions in the report, as defined in an official summary of the report, were as follows: Regarding former GSS chief Karmi Gillon, "The commission found that starting in 1993 there were increasing reports on plans to assassinate the prime minister... However, [Gillon] did not draw the operational conclusions necessitated by this. "Gillon did not conduct even one substantive, relevant, thorough, and comprehensive discussion with all the security and intelligence-gathering bodies to review methods," in light of in-

Hundreds of Palestinians held in huge sweep

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN THE security forces rounded up 371 Palestinians in villages north of Ramallah yesterday, hauling them blindfolded onto a football field for questioning about suspected links with Islamic militants. The pre-dawn sweep was the largest since the IDF split its control over most Arah villages in Judea and Samaria with the Palestinian Police. The army said it was aimed at netting suspected terrorists and students from the Gaza Strip, whose presence in the West Bank was declared illegal following the recent suicide bombings. The arrests nearly doubled the number of Palestinians Israeli forces have taken in since the beginning of the month. The raids were the last action under the command of Maj. Gen. Ian Biran, who is ending his two-year stint as OC Central Command and retiring from military service. "The war against terror is not measured in quantity, but the quality of intelligence and getting the perpetrator, capturing him, and interrogating him," Biran told reporters. Under cover of darkness, security forces, including paratroopers, undercover units, and policemen, swept through the town of Bir Zeit and the villages of Abu Kash and Shakheida, banging on doors and hauling suspects outside. They were taken to large compounds erected on the football field in Bir Zeit. Lt.-Col. Yitzhak, head of the Central Command military police, told Army Radio there is

"no doubt the scope of today's raids is not the norm these days," he said. The main goal of the operation was to round up Gazans studying in colleges in the Ramallah area in defiance of Biran's order to return home. Biran targeted the Gazans, since most of the Hamas activists linked to the bombers were students from Gaza, many of whom attend Bir Zeit University. The university has been a font of Hamas activism and Yihye Ayyash, "the Engineer," recruit-

ed many followers when he was a student there. "The connection between Gaza and Judea and Samaria is one of terror and incitement," said Deputy Defense Minister Ori Orr. "They presumed they lived in a secure area and that no one would enter it," Orr said, accusing them of "taking advantage of the academic freedom." "Anyone from Gaza will be returned to Gaza, and anyone who is innocent will be released," Orr said. (Continued on Page 15)

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NEWS

Commission rejects 'conspiracy theories'

THE Shamgar Commission Report categorically rejected the "conspiracy theories" surrounding the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin...

BILL HUTMAN

informer must keep tight control of him, not to allow him to initiate actions at his will ... and to prevent the carrying out of provocations...

Orr: GSS is properly supervised

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

DEPUTY Defense Minister Ori Orr does not believe the government's supervision of the General Security Service needs to be revised...

Sarid applauds findings of Shamgar Report

ENVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid, a member of the ministerial committee for secret services, yesterday called the Shamgar Report on Yitzhak Rabin's assassination "deep, responsible, and balanced."

LIAT COLLINS

mined that the failing was not limited to the event itself, but stemmed from the fact that its approach towards protecting the premier was untenable...

Cohen said the failings could be found not only with the GSS, but "with Israeli society and particularly the extreme right wing...

Nonetheless, Cohen also praised the GSS. "The lives of each and everyone of us, every day and every hour, are in their hands and they do their work faithfully," he said.

Winning numbers and caps: In last night's Patis Hazak drawing, the holder of ticket number 137934 won NIS 1,000,000.

Tickets numbered 565542, 203898, 611303, 043070, 634046, 173634, 350333 and 827710 won NIS 5,000...

In yesterday's Mifal Hapais daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the eight 10's, spades, queen of hearts, eight of diamonds, and queen of clubs.

Soldier: Amir kept asking for explosives

YIGAL Amir's repeated requests to put together some explosives for his brother Hagai to try out made me stop and think...

Yitzhak Rabin, was appearing for his sentencing hearing in the Northern District Military Court. Schwarz confessed as part of a plea-bargain agreement...

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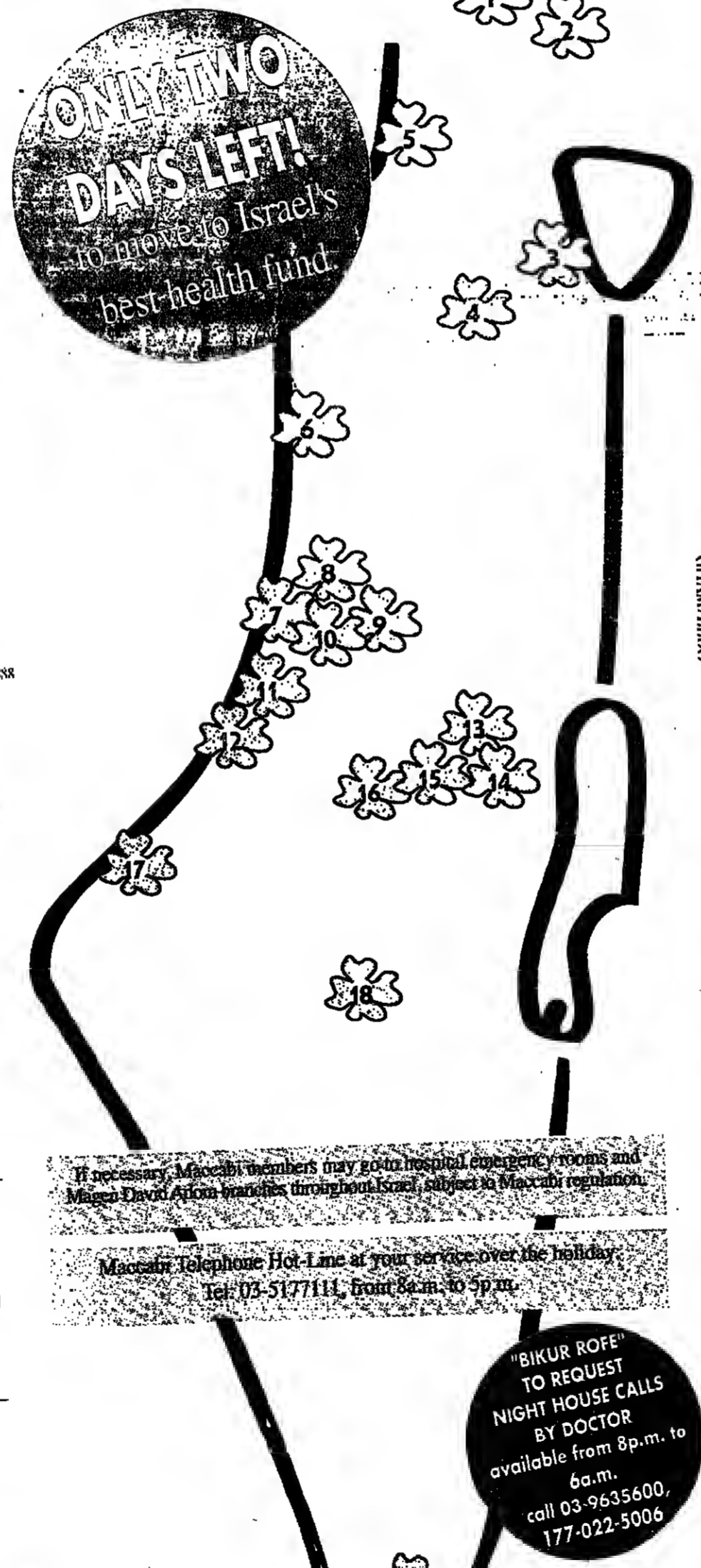
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Shelves takes over as director of Labor information campaign

Foreign

Sheves takes over as director of Labor information campaign

MICHAL YUDELMAN

SHIMON SHEVES, a former close aide to prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, yesterday took over as director of Labor's election information campaign, which kicks off officially on Sunday.

The appointment, initiated by information campaign chairman Haim Ramon, was approved by Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

Campaign activity will increase today, with demonstrations of Labor youth in support of Peres at some 70 road junctions throughout the country, and with a rally of People for Peres in Tel Aviv.

Peres's main campaign slogan, "A strong Israel with Peres," is expected to appear in newspaper ads next week, but the real campaign activities are due to begin only after Passah, party secretary-general Nissim Zvili said, noting that "people don't like aggressive campaign activity on holidays."

Zvili said he will try to persuade Labor and Social Affairs Minister Ora Namir, who resigned from her campaign post as head of the pensioners' sector, to change her mind. Namir, who quit following her election to the relatively low 13th place in Labor's primaries, is on a two-week vacation.

Industry and Trade Minister Micha Harish, who was named director of election day operations, is also having doubts whether to continue his campaign activity after his failure to gain a realistic slot on the Knesset list.

Harish is to meet Peres and campaign chairman Binjamin Ben-Eliezer, who will try to persuade him to stay in the campaign.

Party leaders are also considering ways of compensating Deputy Foreign Minister Eli Dayan for being pushed off the Knesset list by offering to back him for secretary-general or giving him a diplomatic posting after the elections.

Gillon: I am not upset with the commission

Former GSS head Karmi Gillon gave the following response to the Shamgar findings:

"At the time, I was one of a small number of people who initiated the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry. I viewed the very act of its establishment as having great importance for the public after the heavy mourning that descended upon the nation.

"We in the General Security Service took immediate action. We came to conclusions and learned organizational, professional, and personal lessons on the basis of the internal committee of inquiry that we established on November 5, and whose conclusions were presented to the prime minister and brought to the public within a few days of the assassination.

"The head of the Protection Department and I submitted our resignations three days after the murder and before the commission of inquiry was established, in accordance with the personal and organizational standards we learned at home and in the service, and our understanding of the concept of accountability.

"My resignation was not accepted then because of the national need — in [Prime Minister Shimon] Peres's words, to restore the GSS to its full might. I am gratified that the commission dismissed out of hand the idea of a conspiracy in the GSS, gratified that the intelligence sector, for which I am also responsible, was found in order, and gratified that I have already implemented many of the commission's conclusions regarding the protection of VIPs."

"My subordinates, who stood at my side before the commission, are among the best of those who spent their days and nights in the line of duty with limitless devotion. In my opinion, the commission is too hard on them, and I disagree with some of the conclusions it reached.

"However, I am not upset with the commission. I am upset over



Former General Security Service head Karmi Gillon speaks to the press after the Shamgar Commission released its report yesterday. (Ariel Jerozinski)

the murder of Yitzhak Rabin — a leader, a commander, and a humane man who gave me his full confidence. The sense of his loss is with me at all times, day and night, and that is what brought me to the decision to resign immediately after his murder. The only thing that consoles me is the knowledge that I have left behind a security service able to fulfill the heavy security missions imposed upon it by the state ... and that I have handed over the command in an orderly and dignified way to an outstanding commander and fighter as Ami Ayalon...

"There are other Jews like Yigal Amir — albeit not many — serving with us in the Golani Brigade or the Paratroopers or the Armored Corps, studying with us at university, standing beside us in line at

the movies, and shopping with us in the same supermarket, who are ready to kill a prime minister and political leaders in Israel. And I say this not as an angry prophet but as a rational person who has seen these things in the past and sees things the way they are in the present.

"These same intelligence and protection people who are being judged today, whom we all want to scrupulously obey the law and democratic behavior in our country, are the same ones who are responsible for the fact that the prime minister is not assassinated and that buses don't blow up in our cities. Be careful with their honor and look after them, for there are none better than they who are willing to assume this heavy responsibility." (Ilim)

Shamgar Commission absolves police

RAINE MARCUS

THE Shamgar Commission findings prove the police were not responsible for any security foul-up and that they fulfilled their duties, said senior officers yesterday.

The commission recommended that Hayarkon police chief Dep.-Cmdr. Ya'acov Shoval be officially reprimanded by Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz and the reprimand listed in his personal file.

The Kikar Malchei Yisrael area, where Rabin was murdered, was under Shoval's direct jurisdiction and he was the only police officer sent a letter of warning by the commission.

Following yesterday's recommendation, Shoval's mobile phone did not stop ringing, as colleagues nationwide phoned to express solidarity after months of anxiety.

"It's impossible to say that I'm completely happy, considering the tragic event that occurred that night," said Shoval. "I was only half a meter away at the time [of the assassination]. I had hoped to be vindicated completely in light

of what I know to be true, and my actions."

But he added he felt relief, after a difficult few months. "At times I felt I was representing the police force as a whole body," he said.

Shoval also said that officers from the Hayarkon sub-district and the Tel Aviv force supported him fully, especially when he was absent for around two months when testifying before the commission.

His lawyer, Amnon Ziehroni, accused "certain parties of opening fire at the police to absolve themselves of responsibility. I am happy with the findings, which just prove that the police fulfilled their duties and were not told to evacuate the area around the parking lot, nor to 'sterilize' the area," he said.

"The police points of view were accepted by the commission. In such events the police are only an assisting force, and the main responsibility is on the GSS."

Another police officer said that

the term "sterile area" was invented by the GSS after the assassination. Shoval's reprimand, he added, would not hamper his chances of promotion.

Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz said the police would adopt the commission's findings and recommendations. "I have appointed a professional team to examine the findings and which will recommend to me, within the next few days, ways to implement them," said Hefetz. "The commission treated the police fairly. Although it did not totally exonerate us of all responsibility, it gave the correct weight to the role and responsibility of the police. We must not forget this tragic event to implement lessons learned, some of which we are putting into effect now, together with the GSS."

Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahat said that he knows Shoval to be a talented and experienced officer and "personally felt his pain." "We must examine the report thoroughly, including the classified parts, before drawing any final conclusions," he said.

Norway may grant PA emergency funds in response to closure

HILLEL KUTTLER WASHINGTON

NORWAY intends to provide "tens of millions" of dollars in emergency assistance to the Palestinians to alleviate economic losses incurred from the closure of the territories, a Clinton administration official said yesterday.

The Norwegian "have been particularly active in recent weeks" to examining ways to provide assistance, the official said. The aid would represent "unilateral Norwegian efforts" to address the problem, rather than an additional international apparatus to aid the Palestinians, he added.

The US does not intend to add to its 1993 five-year, \$500 million pledge to the Palestinians, he said. Oslo's move is meant only as a short-term fix for closure-related losses, because "what the

Norwegians don't want is to have current developmental funds tapped once more," he said.

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat reportedly stated earlier this week that a \$1 billion infusion would be necessary, but the US official dismissed that figure as unrealistic.

Meanwhile, security experts and ambassadors from 28 countries were to convene at the State Department last night for the start of a two-day session on counter-terrorism that is a follow-up to the March 13 Sharm el-Sheikh conference.

Regional participants include Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Israel,

Jordan, Kuwait, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, the PA, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

Israel's delegation is headed by Foreign Ministry Deputy Director-General Yigal Pressler.

Although a general statement may be issued after the working groups' meeting today, no formal communique will be issued, Israeli and US officials said.

"We are not hyping this meeting as producing a declaration, a statement," the US official said. "Rather, it's to produce ... specific kernels of concrete counter-terrorism areas ... which would be referred to capitals and then to the ministerial meeting, [to be] held, probably, next month."

Amir to be kept in Beersheba Prison

CONVICTED assassin Yigal Amir will soon be transferred from Hasharon Prison to his former cell at Beersheba Prison.

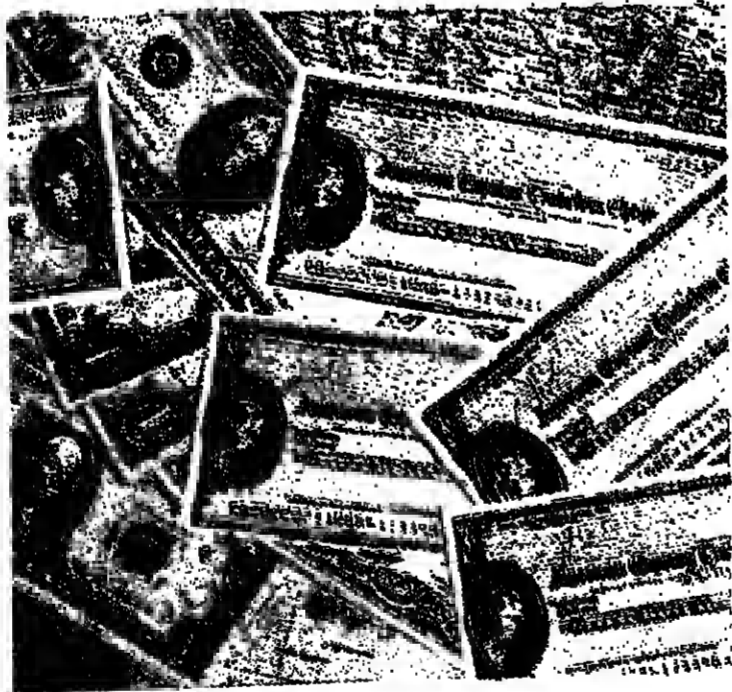
He was transferred to Hasharon during his trial to enable easy access for court-appointed psychiatrists to examine him. Hasharon is also much nearer to Tel Aviv, where the trial was

held, and facilitated his heavily guarded transportation to and from court.

Amir will be held in solitary confinement in a cell equipped with closed-circuit TV cameras, which will follow his every move. He will be given the minimum facilities required by law. (Ilim)

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The Shamgar Report

THE Shamgar Commission's decision not to recommend criminal prosecution of security officials in the Rabin assassination case is probably justified. After a painstaking investigation, it could not point to anyone who might be guilty of criminal negligence. The fault, it found, was in the general attitude of those responsible for security. They possessed enough information to warrant taking greater precautions, but did virtually nothing. Perhaps the most illuminating statement in the report is the commission's rejection of the General Security Service's claim that it was impossible to give political figures better protection, because they like to mingle. "It was not the politicians' need to have direct contact with the public that rendered an improved system [of protection] impossible, but the routinized thinking habits [at the GSS]," the commission asserted.

Mad cows and Euro-men

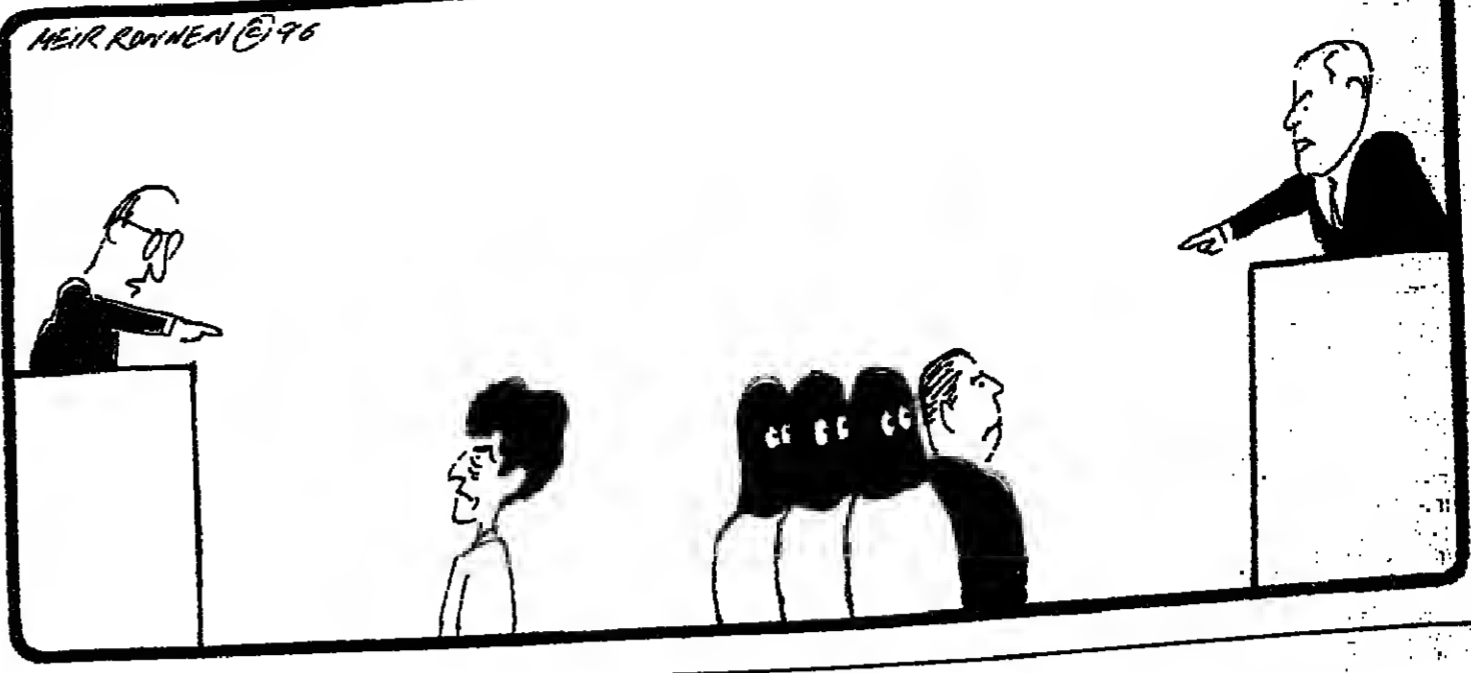
THE past week has seen an outbreak of hysteria across the entire European Union that is scarcely credible and that once again raises disturbing questions about the quality of information provided to national leaders and the public by the modern cotterdamot-driven media. The issue of BSE in cattle - mad cow disease - is undoubtedly one that requires, and is getting, the best attention of serious scientific brains. But the leap in a matter of days from a scientific conclusion that BSE may have been transmitted to 10 humans, to a worldwide ban on British beef and calls for the destruction of the country's cattle herds, defies logic. While the management of the developing crisis by Prime Minister John Major's government has not been the most competent, the panic-stricken reaction of the European bureaucrats has been mind-boggling, with more than a hint of cheap politics driving out reason. Major's government is to be commended for standing firm so far against an even greater media hysteria that called for the immediate slaughter of all 11 million cattle - an act that would have plunged the country into economic disaster. EU Farm Commissioner Franz Fischler admitted to the European Parliament that there is no proof of a direct link between BSE and the similarly rare Creutzfeldt-Jacob Disease (CJD) in humans. But his statement that the EU was forced to act "by the fact that there is no proof that there is no link" marks a new low in the already ridiculed world of "Euro-speak". There is no proof that there is no link between many things in the created biological world, but such a piece of bureaucratic nonsense must be one of the flimsiest reasons ever given for a step of such enormous potential consequences to the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Britons. One might ask why the European Commission does not ban cars immediately because of their link to road accidents or sex because of AIDS. Less flippantly, one might ask why it has not banned tobacco, given the truly enormous body of evidence linking it to hundreds of thousands of deaths across the continent.

POSTSCRIPT

Sir, - Rabbi Howard Kandell's letter of February 29 explained a so-called issur (prohibition) proclaimed by Orthodox rabbis in New York against participating in public appearances of Minister without Portfolio Rabbi Yehuda Amital. The rabbi claimed that this issur was not meant personally against Rabbi Amital, but rather in response to his being a "court rabbi," implying that he is "allowing himself to be used by Shimon Peres in his plan to dismember the State of Israel..." In the first place, nobody pays attention to such issurim. There is no one in America with the right to place a ban on the individual behavior of Jews. Perhaps a chief rabbi would have that authority, but we do not have a chief rabbi in America, and any chief rbbi who promulgated issurim would quickly lose credibility in a court, where freedom of thought and action are taken seriously. Secondly, Rabbi Amital is not being "used" by anybody. He was invited by Prime Minister Peres to fulfill a role described by Mr. Peres

RABBI AMITAL'S ROLE as follows: "To bring Judaism to the government and convey the legitimacy of the government to the Jews..." Rabbi Amital is serving as a personal bridge between government and religion. His presence in the cabinet no doubt affects the tone and content of speech at cabinet meetings. He has appeared publicly with Shulamit Aloni, who we are sure has developed a new respect for Torah and Judaism because of her exposure to a loving, saintly, tolerant and passionately Zionist religious leader. At the same time, he is conveying to the religious community the message that the current Labor gov-

Sir, - Bravo for Esther Wachsmann's "A process that mocks justice" (March 15). Mrs. Wachsmann is a heroine because of tragic circumstances. In addition, she is an intelligent, articulate woman who expresses well the present state of



A shattering of party lines

MOSHE ZAK

THE Oslo process has shattered traditional demarcation lines in Israeli politics. White outright left-wingers are casting doubts on the Oslo accords, louder voices on the right are calling for its acceptance. Candidate number 13 on Meretz's list in the last elections now talks about the "Oslo illusion" and wrote this week: "It is now clear that the whole security side of this approach [relying on the Palestinians in the war against terrorism] has been refuted. The areas handed over to the PLO have become a greenhouse for nurturing Hamas and other organizations; they have turned into a refuge for murderers and thieves. Meanwhile, our hands are tied, and we cannot do the job ourselves." At the same time, candidate number 13 in the Likud primaries is stating that his party should accept the Oslo agreement as a given, and come to terms with it. This polarization and lack of congruity with party lines are the consequence of the twilight in which the Oslo agreement is wrapped. It has been identified, wrongly, as a peace process, when in fact it is only a temporary arrangement which doesn't even guarantee a complete cease-fire. There is now a consensus across the political spectrum that the IDF should not be sent back to Gaza; just as in 1967 there was virtual agreement that the Gaza Strip should be annexed (it even featured in Mapam's peace plan.) Israel could have pulled out of Gaza even without the Oslo agreement. Prior to the 1992 elections, defense minister Moshe Arens proposed a unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, even without an agreement with the Palestinians. But our negotiators at Oslo weren't just thinking of Gaza. They had another objective: the end of Palestinian terrorism. On this question, Prof. Yehoshua

Porat, noted for his research on the Palestinian nationalist movement, wrote this week: "The signatories to the Oslo agreement did not pay attention to the basics. In the document brought home from Oslo they did not demand that the Palestinians cease the armed struggle, only that they should condemn terrorism." "Anyone familiar with the style trying to pull a fast one by proposing a new covenant, without any anti-Israel clauses. But it will keep the old covenant in its bottom drawer, ready to use when needed. The Oslo process is not a finished product. The agreements signed with the PLO may be seen as a package of confusions, contradictions, blind alleys, and equivocations, all going round and round in the search for a way to reach a settlement with the Palestinians. The pushing for separation and the imposition of the closure on the territories do not jibe with the declarations of economic cooperation made at Oslo. It is true that Israel's security requirements are what made the closure necessary, but the Oslo agreement was supposed to provide a solution to security problems. It hasn't lived up to expectations. The "Oslo spirit" gave birth to Israel's campaign to raise financial support for the Palestinian Authority, on the assumption that famine in Gaza spawns suicide bombers. But this claim has boomeranged back on us. The Arabs are now claiming that the closure has caused millions of dollars in damage to the residents of the territories; they are therefore demanding that Israel end the closure at once so the Palestinians can come and work here. In the Oslo agreement, Israel never assumed the responsibility of providing the residents of the

The confusion of left and right over the Oslo accord only highlights its contradictions

territories with a living, but it did, in the Paris agreement, commit itself to providing work for the Palestinians. Following the Six Day War, government "doves" opposed employing workers from the territories in Israel, but the "hawks" pressed for it so as to bring about the economic integration of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza with Israel. Now the doves are calling for employing workers from the territories instead of foreign workers, while the hawks support the continuation of the closure. This reversal is just another example of the new chaos in our political system. More: Those who spoke loudest against Israeli investment across the Green Line are now urging the government to invest beyond it for Palestinian benefit. And those who claimed the settlements stole resources from our development towns and poor neighborhoods are now willing to transfer resources to the Palestinians, who cannot work in Israel. All this is being voiced with the rationale that Israel exploited the Palestinians during the occupation - totally ignoring the fact that the annual per-capita income of the Palestinians in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza is 40 percent higher than that of their brethren across the border in Jordan and Egypt. Our problems with our neighbors are too complex for instant Oslo-type solutions. Such problems cannot be solved at the stroke of a pen. At Oslo, a limited time-span was allowed for solving an age-old conflict. A genuine peace process requires cautious steps forward, a great deal more patience, and no panic over the possibility of a renewed intifada. The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on current affairs.

A little from here, a bit from there

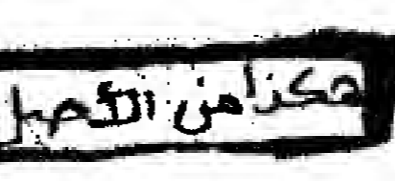
MAX SINGER

The opposition can take either of two positions. It can say that the Oslo agreement and its implementation is a single package, and the terror proves that this package was a mistake from the start. Or it can argue that the terror proves major changes in the implementation of Oslo are necessary, that those changes can be made without giving up on Oslo, and that it remains to be seen whether Oslo can be made to work. The core of Oslo, Yitzhak Rabin's legacy, has two components: a relationship between the government of Israel and representatives of the Palestinians, and transfer to Palestinian Authority control of the area densely populated by Palestinians. No matter what else in the Oslo process is changed, if these two components remain, it is still Rabin's Oslo strategy. Two underlying approaches were available for implementing the basic Oslo strategy. Shimon Peres chose to use the "new Middle East" approach, which says that because of changes in the world, especially the Middle East, the way to protect Israel's security is to satisfy the reasonable needs of the Palestinians and help Yasser Arafat strengthen the PA so that he and it can cooperate with Israel and control any residual terror threats. The alternative is to see relations between the Palestinians and Israel after the Oslo peace as being like other relations in the Middle East. Every Arab ruler knows that although other Arab rulers embrace him when they meet, they may attack him or his country by military force or assassination at any time. In the Middle East security comes not from peace alone, but from physical measures of self-protection, balance of power and interest, and from deterrence. Governments only do what they

How about replacing Peres's New Middle East with a 'Real Middle East' approach?

The opposition could promise that although it disagreed with Oslo when the agreement was made, since it is now a reality with widespread support, in the interest of unity it will work to try to make the essential core of Oslo succeed. Since the Palestinians have not complied with the terms of Oslo, Israel isn't required to continue along the implementation path along Peres has taken; it has no obligation to refrain from the measures it needs to protect itself. Using this approach, Netanyahu would add increasingly forceful measures of attacking terrorist organizations. While the war against terror would not ask Palestinian permission, it would start by trying to do the job with minimal interference with Palestinian life. But additional measures would be added as necessary, despite the disruption of Palestinian life, until the terrorists are defeated. Success would come from a combination of Israeli measures and actions that Palestinians take, as more and more of them reluctantly become convinced that the only way they can protect themselves is by controlling terrorists. Using standard security techniques for fighting terrorists is

is the ultimate motivation for Palestinians to make the peace work. While this does not require Israel to make specific threats, it does require that Israel shows it believes in its legal and moral claims to the land. If Netanyahu takes a realistic approach to implementing Oslo, those Israelis who didn't think it could work could take the limited risk of joining Oslo's supporters in an attempt to make Rabin's experiment succeed. If the attempt works, the former will turn out to have been wrong; if it doesn't work, the latter will be the ones who have to say "You were right; now we'll have to try your way again." But in either case Israel will be preserving the unity of policy it needs to protect the country, although there will be bitter arguments about whether the high cost in lives was necessary. This approach will bring together the great majority of Israelis, leaving out only those who believe in a new Middle East and those who believe that the unity of Jewish land is more important than the unity of the Jewish people and the security of the Jewish state. It also has the advantage of preserving the great diplomatic benefits Oslo brought to Israel. At the core of Oslo was something of great value that produced important benefits for Israel at very high cost. To bring Israelis together, Oslo should be neither rejected out of hand nor stubbornly implemented with discredited approaches. The unity Israel needs depends on Israelis learning that the best answer often takes something from both sides. The writer, former managing director of the World Institute in Jerusalem, is author of The Real World Order: Zones of Peace/Zones of Turnoil.



Headed for trouble

With this week's primaries behind us, Israel's political system, despite appearances to the contrary, is not headed toward America. Instead, we may very well be headed toward very serious trouble. And we may get there without really knowing what's in store for us.

The danger comes from the combination of the system of primaries and the direct election of the prime minister, due to go into effect in the coming general election.

Direct election carries with it the risk of stalemate, the chance that the prime minister-elect will not be able to put together a majority coalition. Primary elections increase the risk, because they weaken the control of the party leader in his own party.

Abraham Bricha, chairman of the Political Science Department of Haifa University, in an article in *Ha'aretz* (November 22, 1995) that should be required reading for everyone in Israel who takes politics seriously, called attention to provisions in the still-untested law for the direct election of the prime minister that have apparently escaped notice.

According to Section 14 of the Basic Law: The Government, the prime minister-elect must appear before the Knesset, with his government, within 45 days of the publication of the election results. Section 15(a) states that if within those 45 days the government is not presented to the Knesset, special elections will be held. These special elections are only of the prime minister, not of the Knesset.

That's not the end of it. If the prime minister is reelected, but again fails to put together a coalition within 45 days, then again there are elections for prime minister. But after two tries, he is finished. Section 15(b) provides that he can't be a candidate for prime minister again.

HERE IS a test case: Binyamin Netanyahu is elected prime minister. David Levy demands the moon. If he doesn't get it, he will take a walk with his seven MKs, democratically elected in the

ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

Gesher primaries. Without Levy, Netanyahu has no Knesset majority.

Suppose Netanyahu says no. Then there are new elections, but only for prime minister.

Levy and his seven MKs just sit tight.

Pure fantasy? Perhaps. But the really dangerous fantasy is the notion that the directly elected prime minister holds a whip over the Knesset, including the MKs of his own party: If he doesn't get his way, he can force elections for a new Knesset.

This simply is not true. It is not true immediately after the elections, as we have seen. Indeed, Knesset dissidents have the whip-hand, if they are needed to

Primaries mixed with direct election of the premier makes a dangerous brew

form a majority.

Later on, once the Knesset has voted confidence in the government, it is only half true. After that, the prime minister can dissolve an oppositionist Knesset, but, as Bricha points out, according to Section 22 of the Basic Law: The Government, he can do it only with the agreement of the president.

The drafting of this provision recalls those halcyon days when the president was still a titular head of state, on the model of the British monarch. What could be more in the parliamentary tradition? The prime minister asks the head of state for a dissolution of the nation's parliament.

But that titular president isn't around any more. Instead, we have Ezer Weizman. He just might have his own ideas on the subject — for example, that a national unity government is preferable.

Just as we don't have a titular head of state any more, neither do we have disciplined parties.

That's where the adoption of the system of primaries comes in. In tomorrow's Knesset, every member is, to no small degree, in business for himself. Criticism of primaries has concentrated on faults within the system itself. The problem of financing urgently needs attention, for example.

The system does not exclude the possibility of manipulation of various sorts, generally lumped together under the rubric of deals. However, little attention has been accorded the integration of the system as such, with or without its imperfections, in the political culture of Israel.

If all goes well, and there is no stalemate between the prime minister and an oppositionist Knesset, the impact of the combination of direct election of the prime minister and primaries is likely to differ in the two major political camps.

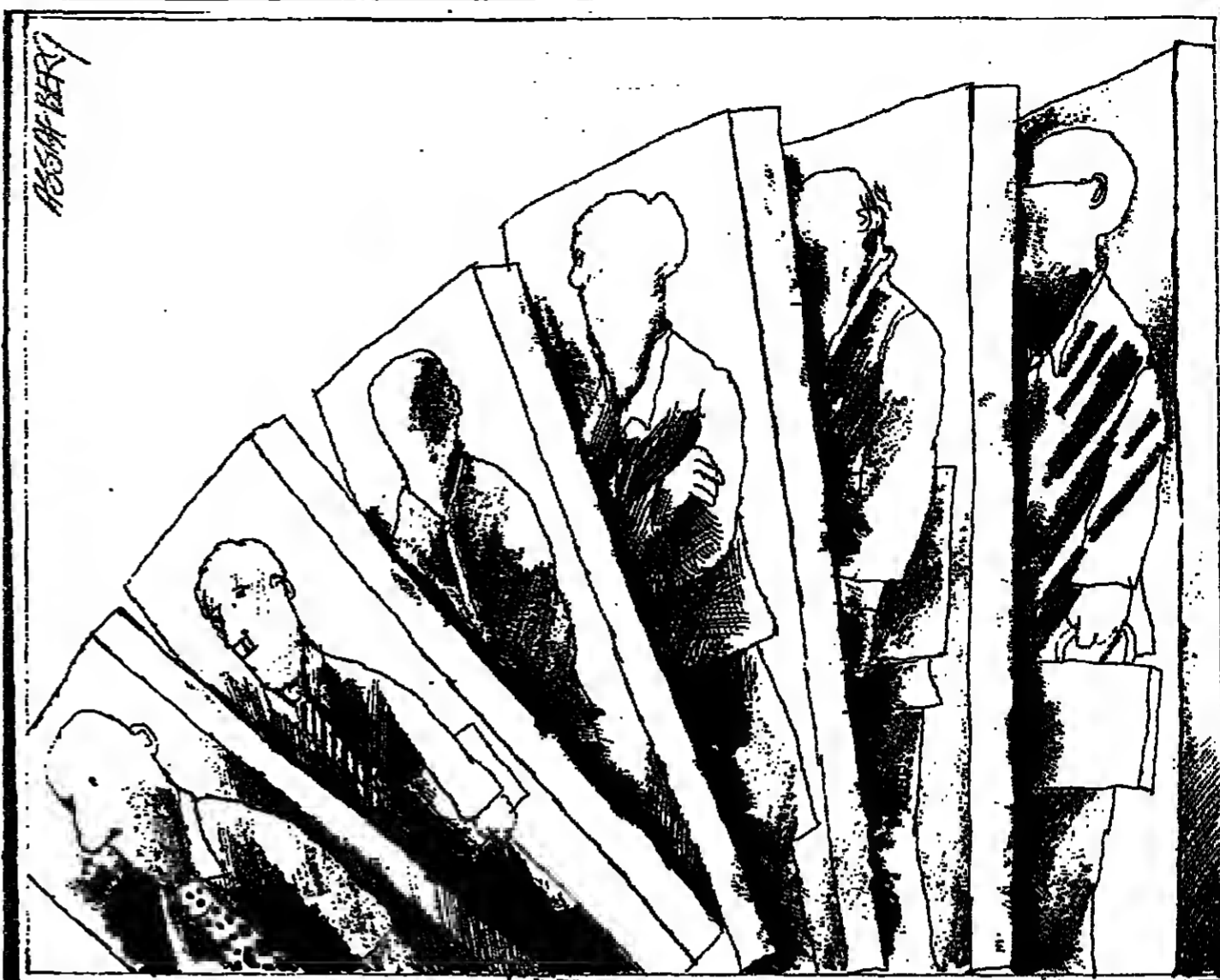
Netanyahu has supported both reforms. A presidential style of leadership is consistent with the populist tradition of Jabotinsky. How this jibes with the presence of 14 MKs with independent bases of power is a question.

The political socialization of Shimon Peres is strongly parliamentary. He opposed the adoption of direct elections and is less than enthusiastic about primaries. The Labor movement resists on a federative basis, antagonistic to populist leadership. Peres, like Yitzhak Rabin before him, is aware of the limitations of party leadership.

Even Rabin, with his presidential pretensions, refused to condone the return of Haim Ramon to Labor on terms similar to Netanyahu's deals with Tsomet and Gesher. Nor has Peres tried to lure back the Third Way, even though the Golan issue is off the agenda for the coming elections.

However, if there are problems in putting together a majority coalition, the political system as a whole is in for trouble. Perhaps the direct election of the prime minister and primaries are festivals of democracy. But after the festivities, what then?

The writer is a legal and political commentator.



American import that works

AMOTZ ASA-EL

Why governor, every thinking man will be voting for you," an avid admirer once said to Adlai Stevenson. Unimpressed, the man who ultimately lost two consecutive presidential races, retorted: "Yes, but what I need is a majority."

This politically-charged week left scores of disgruntled losers across Israel, people whose political aspirations, like Stevenson's, were dealt a severe blow when they failed to win a majority.

And in line with local custom, only a very few of them were noble enough to attribute their defeats to their own rather than the system's failures.

As may be expected, many of those losers now shrink from Israel's new, jingoistic, telegenic politics of fliers, T-shirts, and touch screens.

But the system is good — and if some doubted its merits, this week's primary elections did a good job of proving them wrong.

It's a great temptation to say that our American-imported primaries are to politics what cheeseburgers are to gastronomy — cheap, mass-produced dishes that are high on looks, taste and aroma, but low on nutrition.

The primaries, warned their opponents, might suck the business sector into dense political labyrinths, spawning demagogues and transforming nonentities into instant leaders — like Chancey, the handsome gardener in Jerzy Kosinski's *Being There* who rose to political prominence in spite of being mentally retarded.

Yes, the relationship between politics and big business is problematic; but only a fool would think it all began with the dawn of the primaries era.

Didn't Mapai's finance minister Pinchas Sapir enlist the clout of leading industrialists like textile tycoon Yisrael Polack back in the '60s? Didn't Menachem Begin utilize the services of fishing magnate Ya'acov Meridor in the 1970s?

What about Agudat Yisrael? Didn't it tap the wealth of carpet tycoon Avraham Shapiro in the 1980s? And didn't millionaire Shmuel Flato-Sharon criminally buy his way into the Knesset back in 1977?

Like recent revelations of big

business-contaminated politics in Italy, France, Japan and Spain, none of this bears any relation to the primaries system.

To suggest, therefore, that the symbiotic relationship between society's two main power sources, mammon and domination, began in our time, and in Israel, betrays either ignorance, or devilishness, or both.

Moreover, those who were alarmed by earlier warnings of legislators financed by the underworld roaming the Knesset will

supported, displaying a remarkable measure of conservatism while using their new clout to smooth out the professional politicians' most glaring bumps.

Had it not been for the primaries, we would have had four more years of lackluster party hacks like Micha Harish, the minister of industry and trade, who besieged the Bank of Israel and the Treasury, insisting they hand out tax money to rich foreign investors; or Yisrael Kessar, the minister of transport who did

had the public not been given its chance to intercede.

All this isn't to say the system is perfect.

The Labor electorate's dismissal this week of Knesset Finance Committee Chairman Gedalya Gal, for instance, was an ugly blow, retribution for the battle he waged against the Electric Company's monopoly on power generation and distribution. The apparently well-orchestrated voting of most of the company's 12,000 employees and their family members sufficed to depose Gal.

But would he have survived had his future been decided by a party center, let alone a committee? In all likelihood these would have been even more subservient to union pressure.

In short, this can be said about the primaries: They are better than what we had before. Now they need legislation to standardize and regulate them.

Had all the parties' primaries been held on the same day, required no party membership but just a citizen's ID, been run under the umbrella supervision of a judicial team, and been done for all parties at every voting station — even this writer, an obsessively apolitical animal, might have voted in them.

For those who doubted the merits of primaries, this week went a long way in proving them wrong

THE PUBLIC did not, in the end, make any particularly awkward choices this week. In fact, the results look as reasonable as any party caucus's, if not downright better.

Labor, Likud and Meretz voters all elected teams strikingly similar to those they had previously

little — actually, nothing — to privatize our airlines, buses and trains.

In a party caucus riddled with favoritism, Kessar would have easily survived; thanks to the primaries he didn't even bother to run, making room for a fresh new talent like Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami.

Or take Benny Begin, who courageously challenged his party's pathetic pacts with political bitchhikers elbowing their way into the Knesset in brazen defiance of the primary zeitgeist. Begin would have been stabbed in the back by the party apparatus

have a hard time telling us who those hoodlums' "front men" might be: Knesset Speaker and political scientist Stevah Weiss? Actress Naomi Blumenthal? Classical music expert Dan Meridor? Yossi Beilin, author of three books?

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Hope, the prevailing motif

As Pessah approaches, many of us are asking: How can we celebrate our liberation while feeling the pain of terrorism and fanatic violence, and anxiety over their recurrence?

What possible meaning can the words "Next Year in Jerusalem" have when Jews fear to ride buses and walk the streets of the city?

In our hearts we always believed that our return to Jerusalem would usher in a period when Jews would no longer feel the anxiety of homelessness and powerlessness, when the Jewish psyche would regain a sense of security and trust.

It appears, however, that the idea of redemption in terms of total security and safety is more of a messianic hope than a historical fact.

In this sense, the prayer "Next Year in Jerusalem" remains unfulfilled because we realize that returning home — in the fullest sense — remains an aspiration, and not a description of our lived reality.

Nevertheless, we continue to celebrate the holiday of Pessah, to retell the great drama of liberation which marks the birth of our people. The significance of this lies, I believe, in its deep formative effect on Jewish consciousness.

The story of this founding moment in our history combines two countervailing motifs: a great hope for redemption, and a profound understanding of the pain and suffering of unredeemed history.

Jewish history and Jewish memory begin with the words "We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt." The first memory engraved in our souls is that of slavery and exploitation, the humiliation and degradation of being subject to the arbitrary will of a political despot.

"A new king arose over Egypt who did not know Joseph" (Exod. 1:8).

Despotism cannot be overcome by finding favor with or appeasing a despot. History may always give rise to new pharaohs who seek power without limits, feeling no moral compunction in reducing human beings to objects. Abuse of power is endemic to the human condition, and the Pessah story certainly shatters any romantic illusions one might have about inherent goodness in human nature.

However, our movement from Egypt to Sinai — from the cruel despotism of pharaoh to the hopeful vision of Moses — informs the harsh reality of human oppression with the dream of becoming a holy people.

DAVID HARTMAN

As long as we maintain Moses' dream, as long as we understand the significance of commandment, of law and of justice and don't lose sight of what human potential can and should achieve, we can face the realities of human history without despair.

TELL YOUR children the story of Pharaoh and Egypt. Do not romanticize life, or deny the reality of exploitation and injustice.

But at the same time bring your children to Sinai, to the place where a nation of slaves heard a call to aspire to holiness

We can celebrate the freedom of Pessah even in uncertain times like these

and justice.

Throughout Jewish history, we never walled in the degradation of Egypt, because we held onto the dream of Sinai and Jerusalem. Despite our bitter experiences of hatred and moral ugliness, our psyches were not defined by suffering.

Our longing for Jerusalem was the expression of our dream that one day the sword would indeed be turned into the ploughshare.

In recent history, the rebuilding of Israel and Jerusalem embodies the sense of hope that has always nurtured us as a people. The State of Israel attests to our strength in defying the pharaohs of the 20th century through our decision to become a visible — and vulnerable — member of the community of nations.

The Jewish people has refused

to define itself as a persecuted victim. Instead it chose to build a homeland, in a world where evil and violence continue to defile the human spirit. This courageous act shows that moral aspiration and hope can transcend the memory of suffering in shaping our destiny.

As in the past, so today. We cannot let the terrorists and the Assad of history become the focal points of our identity.

No one knows whether suicide bombings will end or whether another madman will blow himself up in a crowded bus or at a pedestrian crossing. Total security against maniacal terrorists apparently cannot be achieved.

But there is one form of security that our enemies have never been able to destroy: our power to remember and tell liberation stories: to pursue freedom and justice, even from the margins of history; our power to sing "Next year in Jerusalem" in spite of insecurity and vulnerability.

We must never forget Egypt. We must never forget the Holocaust. But we must remember that what makes us Jews is the fact that Moses brought us to Sinai.

The writer is founder and director of the Shalom Hartman Institute, and a member of the Department of Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University.

Salute to the GOLAN

A day to remember

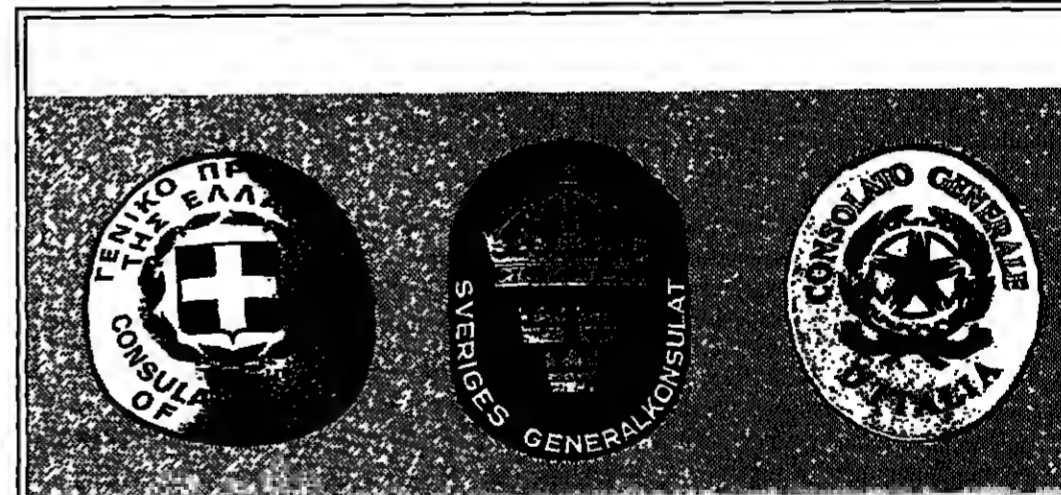
Join the annual "Salute to the Golan" on Sunday, April 7th, 1995, Hol Hamoed Pessah

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Jewish Agency, government sued by Ukrainian immigrants

NEW complaints that Jewish activists from Moscow have been involved in a scam in which immigrants' funds disappeared have reached Jerusalem following the claim for damages filed Wednesday by 175 new immigrants from Ukraine.

BATSHEVA TSUR

The suit filed in the Jerusalem District Court demands NIS 4 million from the head of the Va'ad (the Ukrainian Jewish umbrella organization), Yosef Zisels, as well as the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government's Liaison Bureau, Nativ. They are represented by lawyers Doron Bekerman and Yoram Shefiel.

Agency officials said that since the Va'ad uses facilities of Israeli organizations, perhaps it is not clear to the immigrants who is an official and who is an activist. The agency has already placed ads in Ukrainian papers dissociating itself from such activities and sent similar instructions to emissaries, the spokesman said.

World waits for Britain to contain mad cow panic

VANORA BENNETT

LONDON

Europe was to restore consumer confidence. The crisis began when the British government admitted on March 20 that there was a possible link between bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) and its deadly human strain Creutzfeldt-Jacob disease. Both attack the brain.

If older cattle likeliest to have the disease were killed at a rate of 15,000 a week, the bill would come to £650 million (\$1 billion) a year. A more radical option, slaughtering all cattle in herds touched by BSE, would cost up to \$6 billion (\$9 billion).

Inside Britain, the crisis became a new stick with which to beat the unpopular Conservative Prime Minister John Major. "In one fateful week, this government by its own ineptitude has transformed what the chief medical officer accurately described as 'a cause for concern' into a public relations fiasco," thundered the usually pro-government Daily Mail.

Woman held in connection with husband's murder

BILL HUTMAN

THE wife of a Jerusalem man found murdered in his home three months ago has been arrested "in connection with the murder," police announced yesterday, after she was remanded for nine days by Jerusalem Magistrate's Court.

who was behind the murder. A few days later, police detained a man who was allegedly having an affair with Yulia Sperber, believing he was involved. But the man was released soon afterwards, and apparently is no longer a suspect.

Israeli Arabs to mark 20th Land Day quietly

DAVID RUDGE

ISRAELI Arab leaders have decided to mark the 20th anniversary of Land Day, which falls tomorrow, in quiet fashion. Municipal services in Arab towns and villages throughout the country will be shut down for the day, although all schools and businesses will be open as usual.

Russian forces make grab for Chechen territory

MOSCOW (Reuters)

Russian forces attacked Chechen separatists on three fronts yesterday, trying to seize control of more territory in the breakaway region before President Boris Yeltsin unveils a new peace plan on Sunday.

The latest efforts seem designed to push the fighters into the thinly populated southern mountains, far from strategic oil pipelines and from the regional capital Grozny, a city of 400,000 people before the fighting started in December 1994.

Russian tv reporter slain in Tajikistan

MOSCOW (AP) - A correspondent for Russia's largest television station was gunned down yesterday at his office in Dushanbe, the capital of war-torn Tajikistan.

Arab parties negotiate united list

DAVID RUDGE

OFFICIALS of the Islamic Movement and the Democratic Arab Party (DAP) led by MK Abdul Wahab Darawshe, began formal negotiations in Nazareth last night to forge a united Arab list to run in the Knesset elections.

mittee, which will choose the party's Knesset candidates next week. The convention also decided on the party's platform and constitution.

Zulus march with spears through Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters)

Twelve thousand Zulus, many brandishing spears, marched through Johannesburg yesterday to mark the killing two years ago of eight fellow tribesmen by guards of South Africa's now-ruling ANC.

German Embassy worker killed in Togo

LOME, Togo (AP)

Soldiers manning a roadblock shot to death a German diplomat after he refused to let them search his car, the government said yesterday. The victim was identified as a German Embassy employee whose duties included acting as an administrative and technical attaché.

Civilian IDF workers file labor dispute

The Histadrut announced yesterday that for the first time in the state's history, it has endorsed the declaration of a labor dispute involving civilian IDF employees.

A spokesman for the monitoring committee said parades and memorial services for those who died in the first Land Day demonstrations 20 years ago would be held in the Galilee, the Triangle, and the Negev, as in previous years.

Parties pledge to run clean campaigns

LIAT COLLINS

LESS than five minutes after signing a covenant pledging to run clean election campaigns, Tzahi Hanegbi (Likud) and Labor whip Ra'anan Cohen had already accused each other of being unable to uphold it. Representatives from several parties signed the covenant yesterday in the Knesset, with new parties expected to sign in the future. It calls for dignified election campaigns without physical violence or personal, religious and ethnic slurs. It also demands party activists keep the country clean and obey anti-uttering laws regarding campaign posters and flyers.

Bulgaria to recall Swiss envoy in antisemitic row

SOFIA (Reuters) - Bulgaria said on Wednesday it planned to recall its ambassador to Switzerland following her controversial marriage to an alleged antisemite.

Briton robs gas station to pay for wedding

LONDON (Reuters) - A penniless British bridegroom who robbed the same gas station twice in two days to pay for his wedding and honeymoon was jailed yesterday for five years.

With sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved mother and grandmother
LUBA BERGER
The funeral will take place today, Friday, March 29, 1996, at 2:00 p.m., at Kibbutz Tzorah.
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Daughters: **Bessie and Ozzy Ozinsky, Hannah and Isaac Bloch, Bertha Berger**
Grandchildren: **Rosalie, Beverley, Larry, Danya, Rami and Karen**
Shiva at Kibbutz Tzorah

The staff of **Anglo-Saxon Real Estate (Jerusalem)** extend sincere condolences to the managing director of the company **Werner Loyal** on the death of his sister **ERICA STEINBERGER** in New York
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NEWS IN FOCUS

Friday, March 29, 1996

And the winner is ... the party establishment

Sarah Honig reviews this week's party primaries in the run-up for May's elections

In the late 1970s Malcolm Wallop, a rich rancher from Big Horn, Wyoming, decided he'd like to represent his state in the US Senate. The consultants he hired could find nothing with which their man could hit the incumbent. So they composed a rousing western-style song that exhorted the voters to "come join the Wallop Senate drive."

The lively cowboy tune accompanied a video clip showing Wallop leading cheery riders, all suitably-attired in western garb and hoisting the state flag, galloping exuberantly across the range.

The reason Wallop should be elected, according to the vibrant refrain, was that he is "Wyoming to the spur." The man who came up with this campaign line could not later explain what "Wyoming to the spur" meant, but said it sounded good and so he insisted on it.

He was right. Wallop defeated his very able predecessor and went on to win more elections because he had a catchy jingle, a great PR team and the money to pay for them. The issues were of no consequence.

It may be tempting to laugh this off as an embodiment of American shallowness, impossible in our deeply polarized political environment.

But the primaries we have just come through this week might well indicate that the Wallop Senate drive is exactly the sort on which our politicians might be heading.

This week they had already started down that trail. Likud MK Uzi Landau, one of the architects of his party's defunct septets system, had long ago warned that the primaries would stifle any ideology and idealism still left in our politics.

Landau considers the primaries a distasteful ordeal. He is not affluent and personally finds it "difficult to solicit for funds. But without money there is no chance."

"I preferred seeking contributions from Jews overseas rather than be beholden to a local benefactor who might later need a favor. 'Actually I am one of the lucky ones. I made my name before the advent of primaries. For a newcomer with no vast sums to back his political venture, it's impossible to put a foot in the primary door."

"In the end we will be left only with the rich in the Knesset or with those who had managed to win the patronage of questionable powerbrokers and kingmakers. The best, capable, serious people will not even try."

Many - not only in Landau's party - share his view that the primaries might encourage corruption and the rise of political godfathers, worse than in the Mapai oligarchy of old.

No sooner was the voting in the Labor primary over Monday night, than Prime Minister Shimon

Peres opined that "this system needs repair. The financial burden it imposes on candidates is unbearable."

Foreign Minister Ehud Barak, who can't complain about the outcome, nevertheless reported "a gut feeling that this system will be overhauled."

Indeed everywhere in the political arena the assessment is that after May 29, moves will be initiated to correct the system and insert into it controls so that worthy candidates will not lose out to the brash, the beautiful and the wealthy. This might well be the last time in which we see the primaries in their present form, if we believe what is being said about them in the two large parties.

But it would be foolhardy to place any bets on reform just yet, because basically this week's primaries served the party establishments well.

In some cases, as in Meretz, the results were very much like what the appointments committee of yesterday would have produced in the smoke-filled back room.

What was is pretty much what is in Meretz. All the MKs who were on the 1992 list made it back, except for Shulamit Aloni and Yair Tzaban who bowed out.

The fact that the new names on the list were relegated to the unsafe 11th and 12th slots only underscores the claim that the primary system confers great advantage on those who are already famous.

But Meretz is just a small pond in comparison to the large Labor pool, where one might expect things to be far more difficult to control. Yet a careful examination of the results shows that even here the party machine did extremely well. When all is said and done, only Health Minister Ephraim Sneh really beat it. Everything else went just as the party establishment could have wished. It is the single great winner of the Labor primaries.

Peres can smile with satisfaction. Had he drawn up the list himself, as he did when he chaired the appointments committees before 1992, he would not have changed much. Uzi Baram in second slot suits him just fine.

Baram is someone relatively harmless, hardly a real challenger or a serious contender for the premiership, but he is a perfect tool with which to put the more ambitious younger boys in their place.

Peres preferred Barak over his rival Interior Minister Haim Ramon, and indeed Barak beat Ramon, but was himself pushed down a peg, which from Peres's point of view is just perfect.

What happened to Ramon is certainly the vengeance of the party machine. There were organized deals and lists prepared in advance from which his name was deleted.

Ramon had feared just that, and hence lobbied for open primaries.



in which not just free-paying party members could participate. This, he argued, would make it impossible for there to be bloc votes and boycotts such as the one the Histadrut old guard, closely allied to Peres, organized against Ramon.

The fact that Peres's protegee Yossi Beilin rose so high is also a tribute to the efficiency of the party machine, considering Beilin hardly campaigned. In 1992 he was in 27th slot and even that only after Ramon came to his aid.

The blow to Ramon and the boost for Beilin can only please Peres. His influence is omnipresent. The obligatory woman at the top is Dalia Itzik, who is close to Peres, rather than Ora Namir of the old Rabin camp. That Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami captured a safe slot is not a sign that newcomers can break through, but that if Peres wills it, it can happen.

On the eve of the primaries Labor realized in panic that no Moroccan might get in. It was then the Peres pulled all stops to make sure that Ben-Ami does well. It worked.

TO SEE the jubilation on Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu's face, one must assume that things had worked for him too. The net-lesome Benny Begin and Dan Meridor came in after newcomer General Yitzhak Mordechai, political matchmaker Ariel Sharon and even Knesset faction chairman Moshe Katsav.

Could this be the result of those rumored prepared lists from which their princely names were deliberately omitted? The easy thing is to believe that Netanyahu indeed engaged in punitive action. But this theory runs into trouble when

we recall that Sharon too was supposed to have been targeted, yet he did better than all of the Likud's other seasoned politicians.

In fact, in terms of the real power play, he is seen as the great winner of the Likud primaries, well-rewarded for unifying the national camp.

This, coupled with the fact that the Likud lacks anything like Labor's centralized well-oiled

Mordechai, who enjoyed star status and has not yet made any enemies.

That the general he himself brought to the Likud won top billing no doubt pleases Netanyahu as it deprives Labor of the line that no one high up on his list belongs to Netanyahu's fan club.

Mordechai most ardently does. But the fact that someone who entered the party at the last moment could so clearly beat veteran runners, more than anything testifies to his vote-getting potential rather than to the Likud being a political land of opportunity.

This year it was anything but. To begin with, the race in the Likud was more grueling than in Labor because of built-in hurdles.

Labor set aside a full half of its list to regional candidates, who will become the new Knesset's backbenchers but who pay low entrance fees.

While MK Eli Dayan failed to win a safe slot despite garnering over 74,000 votes, Ron Huldai in Tel Aviv got in with a mere 2,800.

In the Likud only a third of the list went to the regional candidates. This in itself makes for a more crowded national track and a far more uphill race.

But when 14 safe slots went to Tsomet and Geshet implants, the odds against the Likud nationwide contestants grew atrocious, with only 18 safe slots left open. Except for stars like Mordechai and former deputy GSS chief Gideon Ezra, only incumbents - and very popular ones at that - stood any chance.

Netanyahu will be able to get away with having so drastically cut his party's Knesset representation only if he wins the premiership. Then, there will also be little chance that Likudniks who this week advocated amending the primary system will get anywhere.

Netanyahu after all is the most enthusiastic proponent of anything American in Israeli politics. He himself won the Likud leadership via the primary system. He is in his element in this style of politics. If he has his way, this is how his party will choose its candidates in future campaigns as well. To his mind there is no way back.

"It'll be sad if primaries are here to stay, even though I personally did well in them," Landau says. He is sure that "in a few campaigns from now Israeli politics will become the exclusive preserve of the rich and famous."

And if his dire predictions are borne out, we may soon see our own local version of Malcolm Wallop saddling up - for the great Knesset drive.

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Say goodbye to jingles, say hello to balloons

Although politicians still use the billboard to push their campaigns, there are plenty of other alternatives, Rachel Neiman writes

NOT so long ago, election advertising used to be limited to radio jingles, wall posters, graffiti and newspaper ads. Today it looks like the sky's the limit. As a matter of fact, a company called B. Rimon Agencies is pitching ad space on balloons. Benny Rimon says he has plenty more products on which to print the name of a candidate or party - including the EZ-Up Shelter, a collapsible tent for outdoor gatherings; polyester tablecloths; road markers; flashlights and pocket knives. A more traditional method of political advertising is the use of outdoor signs. Moshe Nur, whose company holds 58 percent of the billboard market here, says his medium "gives a brainwash nothing else can." Most candidates have opted for 50 units either nationwide or within a given region. The cost of a one-week-long airing period is \$15,000.



Before national elections, places like Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda market are flooded with posters of Knesset candidates and their parties. (Rahamim Israeli)

and Nur says some candidates had even planned to take advantage of this option for a second

week before the primaries. Interestingly, most of the candidates opted for Nur to do their graphics (this can include everything from billboards to flyers and wall posters), as opposed to working through an ad agency. Nur says it's an issue of price.

The newly implemented primary system means that for the first time posters have to get across the personality of some relatively unknown politicians, he says. Photos of the candidates help immeasurably in penetrating the public consciousness.

"Surveys done by Limor Livnat (Likud) found she had a 75% rise in exposure rating after her signs went up," says Nur, who used photos to work wonders in creating awareness for Haim Ramon during his bid to head the Histadrut.

Location is also an important element in outdoor signs. Nur and other sign companies all have municipal permits for their billboards and are licensed to rent out space.

Municipalities may also create temporary sign locations and rent them directly to parties. The companies do not erect special signs.

Size also plays a part. For maximum exposure, Nur recommends a combination of large and small signs. "Large gives a sense of power but small reaches more people," he says. The cost of renting a super-sized billboard over a major highway costs some \$5,000 for production plus \$6,000 for a week's rental and is invaluable in terms of the impression it makes. However, he points out, it will reach only a certain segment of the population - those who use that road.

New technologies in outdoor signs, such as three-sided signs and their use in creating mini-animations, is not a factor in election campaign ads, says Nur.

Use of this most populist of media forms is forbidden in the Knesset elections, according to laws limiting sign size, content and location. Nur says these laws have been relaxed for other media "with stronger lobbies than ours" and says this is discrimination.

His professional union plans to file a complaint with the High Court. "We were planning to file a proposal to amend the law, but because of early elections we

don't have time." Nur also maintains that these restrictions force party activists to resort to "barbaric" methods - such as "sticking up their own posters on people's walls, using spray paint and causing damage."

LESS DAMAGING, though equally annoying, are the use of junk mail and telephone surveys.

Erez Almogi, general director of the Israel Direct Mail and Telemarketing Center, says he estimates "more budgets will be devoted to direct marketing and telemarketing during the upcoming elections." The reason why? It works.

"The advantage of this method is that we appeal with relatively expensive media (manpower-intensive telephone calls and printing) but we deal with very focused groups," says Almogi.

Companies such as Almogi's work with data bases. "In 1992 we did a fundraising appeal by telephone for one of the large political parties and raised over \$1 million," he says. The best way to raise funds is to locate past donors, the group with the highest rate of positive response, but this accounts for only a few thousand people.

"For this reason, parties also have to appeal to people who have never contributed." In this case, Almogi says, he looks for people with "high potential," meaning those with some form of declared party affiliation. After that it's a question of combing the data bases for groups based on a range of parameters: ethnic group, geographic region, neighborhood, profession, marital status - whatever works.

ALMOGI SAYS his company even identified those who had difficulty reaching polling stations and passed their names onto their client. Rides were subsequently arranged. "The name of the game is to get as many people as possible to the ballot box."

Almogi also specializes in organizing small discussion groups in people's houses. "We believe that one-on-one is the best way to sell." Personalization is also important in direct mail, he adds.

Direct mail and telemarketing have an advantage over TV, he says. "You've got to take into account that in 1992 there was only one station. This time there are two channels plus cable. That means the number of viewers (per ad) will be much lower

and the cost-effectiveness of TV advertising less." This is particularly true for primaries, he points out, with their NIS 200,000-per-candidate limit on advertising budgets. "This is very low, so expensive media such as TV, newspapers and radio won't play a part." Diffuse though it may be, TV has become the most dominant media form used in campaigning since being allowed in 1984, says Haim Pelled, chairman of the Israeli chapter of the International Advertising Association. The reason is that "it reaches most of the population."

"No paper and no billboard can reach that many," Pelled says. "Radio lacks the added dimension of being able to look the candidate in the eye." Eye witness, he points out, also carries more weight in the Jewish legal tradition. "There's another Jewish expression: 'A man sees with the eyes of his spirit.' People see TV even if they don't always listen. They use it to interpret a candidate's reliability, empathy, trustworthiness."

In the past, says Pelled, who has been in the ad business since 1959, political parties used movie reels to get across their message.

"Generally, the emphasis was on construction, building, industry, immigration and everything centered around the idea of national security."

This focus around national rather than personal security is a very important point, Pelled says, and was expressed in party makeup. "Whoever had the most generals had the electoral power, so it was easier then for the Left to sell itself."

Israel's right, he says, scored its first coup with Arik Sharon. Today, "the Likud has more generals than Labor."

Pelled predicts this relative advantage is temporary, as personal security in the face of terrorism gains in importance.

The shift, he says, came in the late '70s "after peace with Egypt, perhaps," and the party with the most security experts will be the one with the edge. "Every party will need one."

As a believer in concentrated efforts, Pelled advises political campaigns to use less forms of media and more clear messages. "The kind that enter your mind. The kind with a high level of trust. And don't be afraid of emotion."

"No matter what the medium, he says, the message must always be clear. That's much easier for the opposition to deliver a clear message, as they're free from having to account for their actions."

Take for example the Likud-sponsored "Peres will divide Jerusalem" billboards. The short, clear message was a blow, Pelled says, as was the linkage to Peres's name. "Labor should have delivered a quick and direct response," he says. "They didn't and the score is now 1 to 0."

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Speakers: Ann Elizabeth Mayer, Judith Miller
14.30-17.00: Islamism and Instability in Egypt and North Africa
Speakers: Ibrahim Karawan, François Burgat

MONDAY, 1 APRIL 1996
09.15-10.30: Khomeini's Legacy: Iran and Lebanon
Speakers: David Menashri, Martin Kramer
10.45-12.30: At the Core of Peace: The Palestinians and Jordan
Speakers: Meir Litvak, Elie Rekhess, Asher Sussler
14.30-16.00: The Dilemma of the West
Speakers: Claire Spencer, Robert Satloff
16.15-17.45: Concluding Session: Is Islamism Viable?
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مكتبة القدس

IDF to leave Hebron later rather than sooner

THIS week Israel was supposed to have handed over most parts of Hebron to the Palestinians, marking the culmination of the end of the interim peace agreement with the P.L.O. It didn't.

Instead, in the wake of the recent brutal suicide bombings, Israel chose to violate the accords and use Hebron as a card to pressure Yasser Arafat to crack down further on Islamic militants.

Much to the Palestinians' chagrin, and to the relief of the Jews living in Hebron and Kiryat Arba, the IDF remains in control of the Judean town.

No one seems to know when the army will hand over the 90 percent of Hebron it was supposed to have done to the Palestinians.

Hebron mayor Mustafa Natshe says he has turned to the Israeli military governor to find out when the withdrawal will now take place.

"He said all the preparations were completed and he is waiting for the orders. But none have come. It can happen within a few hours," Natshe says.

A few blocks away in Beit Hadassah, Jewish settler spokesman David Wilder finds himself in a similar state of uncertainty.

"They haven't told us anything," he says, still not comprehending how Israel can intend to hand over the City of Abraham to the Palestinians.

"Abandonment of any part of Israel is unimaginable. But the fact that they would leave Hebron would lead to a serious and rapid deterioration of the security situation for us [all]," says Wilder, a spokesman for the 450-member Jewish community in Hebron.

HEBRON WAS to have been the eighth and final West Bank city Israel was to have turned over to the Palestinians under the peace accord. It was saved for last because it is the most complicated.

Considered holy by both Jews and Moslems, the small enclave of settlers, guarded by hundreds of soldiers, lives among over 80,000 Arabs.

Now, Prime Minister Shimon Peres has imposed a list of conditions the Palestinians must fulfill for the IDF's partial withdrawal to go ahead. Israel wants the Palestinians to capture Mohammed Dief, the mastermind of the latest bus bombings, and change the clauses in the Palestinian Covenant calling for Israel's destruction.

A delay for technical reasons is no longer valid since the IDF has already removed much of its equipment from the areas it is to vacate in Hebron and the bypass road is practically complete.

In fact, army commanders and defense officials say the IDF redeployment could probably take place in about six hours once the orders are given.

But defense sources say the troops are likely to remain there at least until after Pessah, during which tens of thousands of Israelis are expected to visit.

"The Israelis are holding Hebron hostage," Natshe says. "This is a violation of the agreement and it's making the people in the city frustrated and they don't believe that there is a peace process in this area. Since Oslo, nothing has been improved and the situation has only gone from bad to worse."

BUT BEYOND the demands on the Palestinian Authority, Israel's hesitation is equally derived from its own fears that handing over most of Hebron, a hotbed of Hamas activity, to the PA would make it more vulnerable to attacks.

In the race for another term as prime minister, Peres has sidelined his visionary image and appears to have taken up Yitzhak Rabin's "Mr. Security" role. Knowing another terrorist attack could give his Likud rival the edge in this neck-and-neck race, it raises the question of whether Peres will order the withdrawal from Hebron before the May 29 elections.

Foreign Minister Ehud Barak hinted on Wednesday that even the talks on the permanent peace agreement - which are supposed to begin in May - might be delayed.

"When the blood of our people is spilling in the streets, we cannot negotiate or redeploy in Hebron, or consider the modalities of permanent status negotiations," Barak said.

"We expect the situation about terror to change before we can redeploy in Hebron," he added.

Mayor Natshe complains that his town is being used as fodder for the elections.

"After the bombings, there is a competition between the Likud and Labor to try and show who is more severe against the Palestinian people to win more votes. They should have been trying to show what kind of peace they will be bringing

instead," Natshe says. But a freeze on a redeployment is not entirely certain. Depending on how the campaign goes, Peres may want to set facts on the ground in advance of any post-election scenarios.

And Palestinians argue that having Yasser Arafat's Palestinian police on the ground in Hebron would give him an edge in controlling Islamic militants there.

The Israelis are holding us hostage, says Hebron's mayor; meanwhile tens of thousands of Israelis are expected to visit the town over Pessah, Arieh O'Sullivan reports

As far as the Palestinians are concerned, they see the failure to redeploy in Hebron as further punishment and a broken Israeli promise which will only cause a further erosion of Palestinian support for the peace process.

"We are not prepared to pay the price for Peres's election [win]. They are making a big mistake and the support of the population for the peace process is decreasing daily," says Jamil Tarifi, the Palestinian

Authority's Minister of Civil Affairs.

"Peres said he doesn't need to make any more security preparations to redeploy the Israeli army from Hebron. The decision is his and everyday he

stalls, it changes the atmosphere in the West Bank," Tarifi says.

"They are making demands on us to be committed to the agreement and take steps against Hamas, while they themselves are not committed to the accords," Tarifi says.

Mark Heller, a senior research fellow at the Jaffee Center, speculated that the last thing the government wanted was to give the opposition "cheap ammunition"

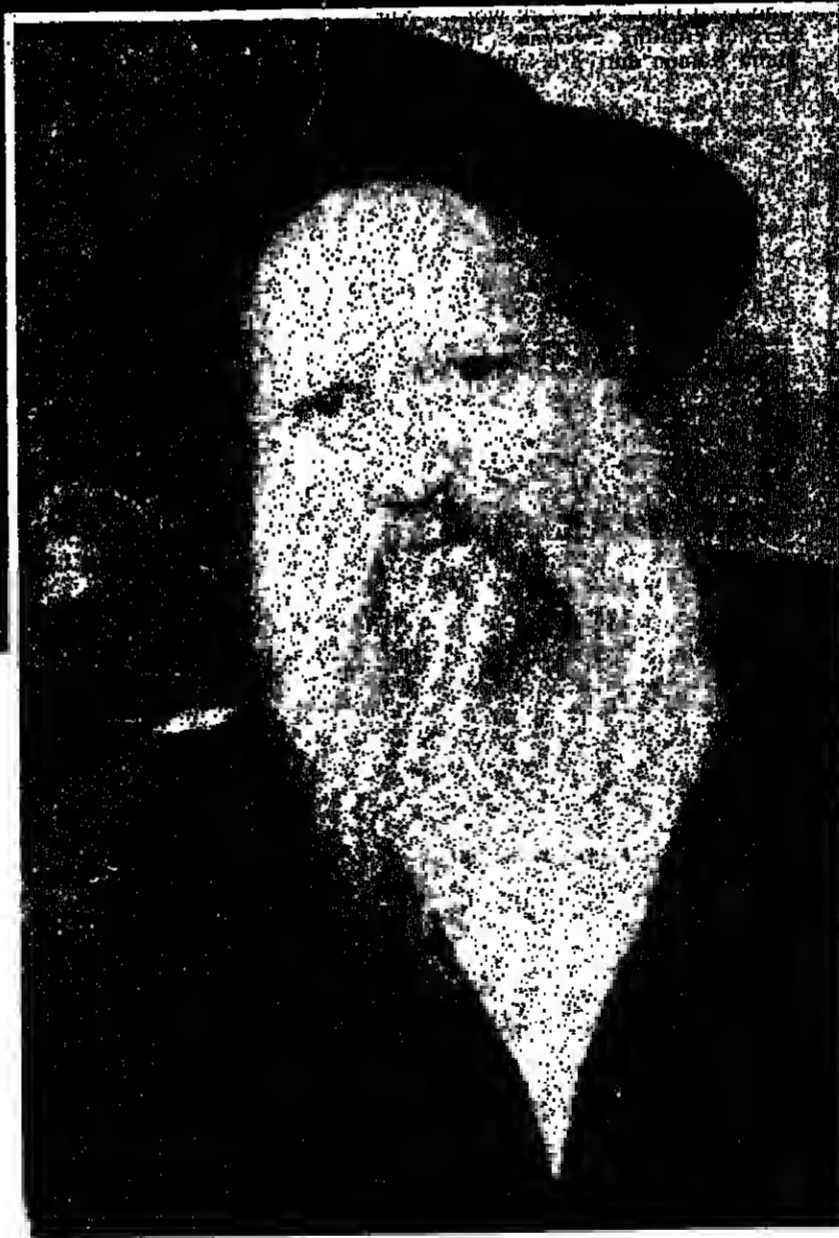
for attacking it in the elections.

"Handing over Hebron and then having an attack from there would be electorally fatal," Heller says.

Wilder also believes the troops would remain in place until after the elections.

"The fact that he is turning over parts of Israel and giving Hamas a present in Hebron is diametrically opposed to anything he says," asserts Wilder.

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Israel's use of administrative detention has been denounced around the world. Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz labeled it "a serious breach of civil liberties." And while the government has defended this policy on the grounds of national security, it is now being used for very different purposes. To

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Playing it safe with Israel

There has been a dramatic rise in the number of Arab Jerusalemites applying for Israeli citizenship. **Jacob Dallal investigates**

On a recent afternoon at a Jerusalem office, George brought refreshments for his Jewish co-workers on the occasion of his having just received Israeli citizenship.

George (not his real name) is not a new immigrant; he is an Arab who has lived in the Jerusalem area all his life. Until about a year ago, like almost every Arab living in Jerusalem, George had a "blue card" which gave him permanent-resident status in Israel but not citizenship.

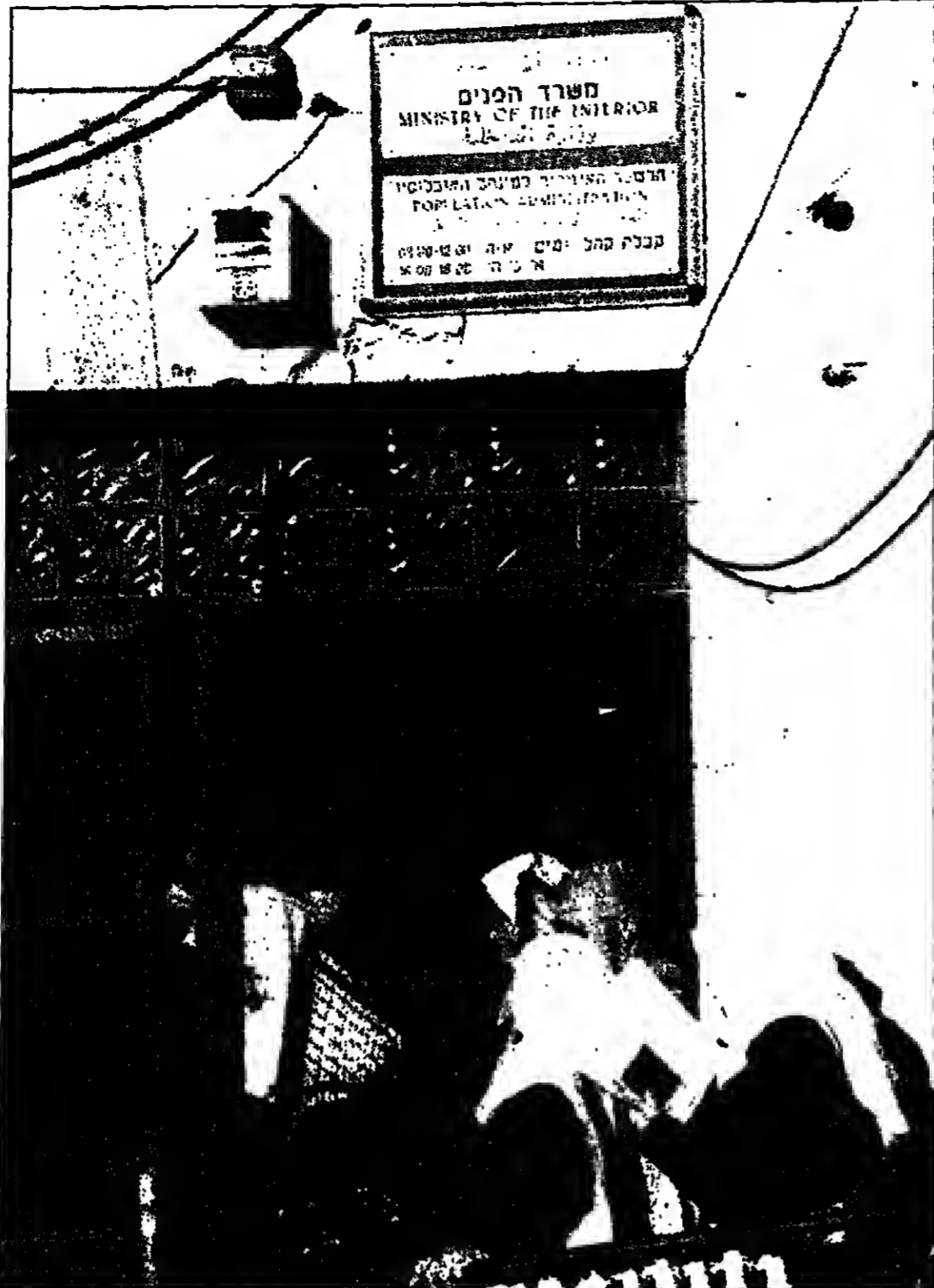
But with the uncertainty of the future direction the peace process might take - including the status of Jerusalem - and with the handing over of areas around Jerusalem to the Palestinian Authority, George became worried about the future.

He decided to be on the safe side and exercise his right as a Jerusalem resident to apply for Israeli citizenship for himself and his family.

In making this move, George is part of a growing trend. In recent months there has been a dramatic rise in the number of Arab residents of Jerusalem applying for Israeli citizenship.

Many of these people feel that, should things take a turn for the worse under Palestinian rule, they will now be able to turn to Israel for protection. They will be able to continue to work and move freely in Israel, regardless of the situation in the Palestinian areas, and will have the option of moving to live within the Green Line if things become very bad. In addition they will enjoy the benefits of National Insurance.

Until recently, only a tiny number of Jerusalem Arabs applied for citizenship, perhaps several dozen each year. Becoming a citizen of the Jewish state was viewed as traitorous to the Palestinian national



Arab residents line up to apply for citizenship at the Ministry of the Interior in east Jerusalem: a translator of documents from Arabic to Hebrew types up a citizenship application outside the ministry office. (Ariel Jerolimski)



cause. But in the last two years, the number of applicants has risen to between 80 and 100 a month.

"This is happening on the back-drop of the Oslo peace process and it points to lack of confidence among Palestinians about the future," says Ifrah Zilberman, a researcher at Hebrew University's Truman Institute and a specialist in Jerusalem Arabs.

According to the Ministry of the Interior, in 1994 and 1995, 962 Jerusalem Arabs were granted citizenship, bringing the total number of those with Israeli citizenship to

1,765, of an estimated 170,000 Arab residents of the city.

But in addition, there is a backlog of 5,000 citizenship applications from Arabs, and most of these requests are from blue-card holders.

"There is tremendous overload since the Oslo accord," says Ministry spokeswoman Tova Ellinson.

Today it can take a year to process an application. "It's a bureaucratic problem; we are trying our best to speed up the processing," Ellinson says.

"We are talking of an increase of several hundred percent," Zilberman notes, "and it is worrying the Palestinian leadership very much in closed-door discussions."

ALI, 22, was born in Silwan and now lives in Eizariya, a village just outside the city limits, now Area B. He works as a delivery man in Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem.

Two years ago Ali and his brother, who is 24 and works as a refrigerator serviceman, started considering applying for Israeli citizenship.

But when Ali's brother asked a local sheikh, he was told that it was forbidden under Islamic law. The brothers dropped the idea for a while, but now Ali says they have decided to go ahead with their applications despite the religious prohibition.

"I am afraid the Palestinian Authority will come and confiscate

my blue card. We won't be able to go to work. We will get a Palestinian identity card and we will need permission to enter Jerusalem. With citizenship, it will be easy to come and go."

Ali wants to apply now. In a month or two the PA will take over administrative control of his village. He says he and his brother will move back to live with their family in Silwan while his application is being processed.

It will also make life easier for Ali in the city. "Sometimes I have to deliver newspapers and documents to schools and they won't let me in for security reasons. With citizenship, it won't be a problem."

While Ali will go ahead with his application, the religious prohibition and stigma that go with it made his uncle, Salah, drop the idea for good. "I'm secular, so the religious law doesn't bother me. But my family and my wife don't want me to," says Salah, a 33-year-old father of two.

"I also thought it would be good for the children. But then we are afraid of the Palestinian Authority."

RAFI Sutton, a former member of the Israeli intelligence community who worked in eastern Jerusalem, likens taking Israeli citizenship to taking out an insurance policy.

"If the situation changes in Jerusalem these people want to be on the safe side. Everything else, about added rights, are just stories."

People who have little connection with the West Bank or work with Jews are more likely to consider citizenship. So too are Christian Arabs, who are concerned about the future under the Moslem-dominated Palestinian Authority.

GEORGE, a Christian Arab, has been working with Jews as a computer systems operator at the same firm since 1969.

"I didn't become an Israeli citizen because [of a] hate [for] the Palestinians," George says, "but I decided it is better to live here in Israel."

George says part of the reason he took citizenship was for his children - so that they would be able to live and work in Israel, if they choose. His oldest son is 20 and looking for work.

"If your name is David or George it's hard to find work in a [place with a] Moslem majority. It's a natural thing and true among Jews as well. But with a Jew you can argue and he understands you better."

George lives with his family south of Jerusalem in Beit Jalla, which has recently come under PA control. He says there hasn't been any noticeable difference in day to day life, but he isn't sure if things will remain that way.

"I want to distance myself from this whole autonomy business. I don't believe in it. I don't think there is going to be a real peace," he says.

George recalls what an Israeli Arab friend told him about Palestinian independence: "I support the establishment of a Palestinian state but I'm not willing to live there."

Zilberman, of the Truman Institute, predicts the number of Palestinians applying for citizenship will continue at its present rate for another year.

Then, if things go well for the PA, the numbers will drop; if things go badly, they will increase.

"If the autonomy goes well, they'll join the bandwagon; if it goes badly they'll have another option."

The trend is important for Israel, says Zilberman, because it strengthens its position.

"The fact that around 5,000 people - or 2 to 3 percent of Palestinians in Jerusalem - want to be or are Israeli citizens, gives great legitimacy to the stand that there should be no division between East and West Jerusalem."

This trend, coupled with low voter turnout in eastern Jerusalem for the PA elections, shows that not all Palestinian residents there want complete PA control.

"These people like Jerusalem the way it is; they have been exposed to the liberalism and plurality of Israeli society. This supports the position that we should not give up part of the city en bloc to the Palestinians."

"It is a significant card in future negotiations, and I only hope the government realizes this."

When should we get together?
Please note next month's schedule for the Jerusalem Scrabble Club:

Sunday, March 31
Thursday, April 11
Tuesday, April 16
Sunday, April 21
Tuesday, April 30

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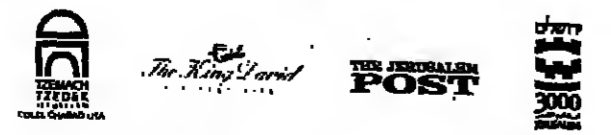


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The dates: Sunday, May 12 - Wednesday, May 15
The price: US\$255
Includes: A/C bus from Tel Aviv/Jerusalem and return, desert jeep travel, 3 nights at the Nueiba Hilton (in a double room), 3 hotel breakfasts, 1 hotel dinner, 2 picnic lunches, 1 Bedouin dinner, services of an English speaking guide and Egyptian escort, and all entrance fees.

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The dates: Departure Monday, July 15; return Monday, July 22
The price: US\$1930 per person (with double room occupancy)
Includes: return flight by El Al, use of special safari vehicles with viewing platform, 7 nights in first-class hotels and safari lodges, full board (breakfast only, during two stays in Nairobi), experienced tour guide English-speaking Zoologist, Uzi Melboom. All entrance fees.

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The dates: Departure, Wednesday, June 5; return June 17
The price: US\$2,112 per person (with double room occupancy)
Includes: international return flights by Air Malta, 12 nights half-board accommodation in 5 star hotels or superior tourist accommodation in the Sahara region, travel in air-conditioned coaches, all entrance fees, services of experienced English-speaking guide, and local guides.

PLEASE NOTE - there is no travel on Shabbat, and fish and vegetarian food is available.

For reservations and further information, contact

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مكتبة القدس

Rome's piazzas: A slice of Italian life

CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS

TWICE I'd been here. Each time, I came, saw, inspected the Sistine, assessed the Colosseum, entered and ogled the Pantheon and Forum. If it was winter, I bought roasted chestnuts and was reminded that the idea of roasted chestnuts far exceeds the reality.

If it was summer, I ordered Italian ice cream, the reality of which cannot be exceeded. Then it was back to the churches and landmarks.

But eventually, peering up at one more clock tower or squinting at yet another fresco, a stranger in Rome crosses a threshold.

Suddenly, the most important thing in the Eternal City is not to find where Julius Caesar was stabbed, or name the father of Romulus and Remus, but finding a place to sit still, to rest sore feet, to sip something, to read something, to eavesdrop, to disappear in the shade.

That's what piazzas are for, and Rome must hold more of them than any other city. The smallest of these city squares amount to little more than a confluence of streets, a few parking spaces, a nameplate on a wall, a child chasing a stray soccer ball. The greatest of them dominate a city that once dominated Europe. Yet on both of those previous visits, I passed time in only the most obvious of Rome's hundreds of piazzas.

Then the chance to visit Italy arose in June, and I set myself a goal: to search out and soak up a few choice and underappreciated piazzas — places where actual residents of Rome might be found pursuing daily routines, places less celebrated and less trampled than the Piazza Navona, the Piazza San Pietro and other leading tourist stops.

I would look for theaters of human behavior, for Romans

frowning at their newspapers, baggling over produce, casting furtive (and not so furtive) glances at the opposite sex, narrowly averting motor-scooter collisions, hanging out their wash, hollering at each other from second-story windows. I would permit these piazzas to handle a fair amount of tourist trade, but I hoped it would have more to do with tomatoes or antiques than with Iron Maiden souvenir towels, such as those I passed in the Piazza Navona.

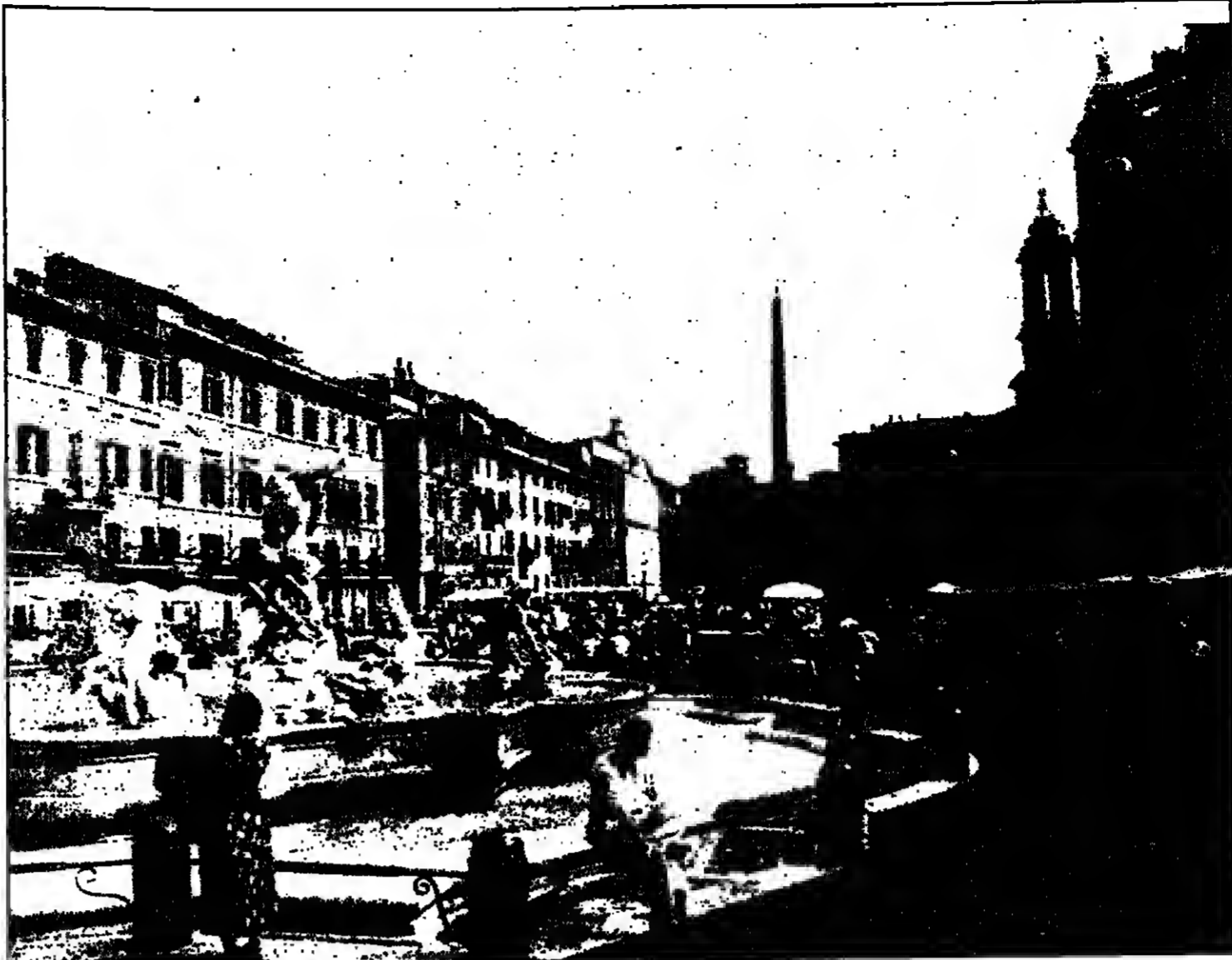
For my base of operations, I chose the Hotel di Teatro Pompeo, four long blocks south of the Piazza Navona (and built upon the ruins of the theater in which Julius Caesar was stabbed to death).

Around the corner lay the Campo de' Fiori, where I spent parts of every day I had in Rome. The rectangle is surrounded by restaurants and shops, and the scene teemed with local people fondling local products. Three flower stalls. One seller had arranged 12 kinds of olive oil.

Another stacked baskets of peppers, oregano, mushrooms, bananas, watermelon and asparagus. On market days they set up about 6 a.m. and start packing up at 1:15 p.m. By 2 p.m., the marketplace has vanished and the restaurants have doubled the size of their sidewalk dining areas.

The stores and restaurants included Ristorante Om Shanu, an affordable place for snacking at an outdoor table and watching the world go by; The Drunken Ship, a young people's bar with post-modern stainless steel furniture and an international clientele, and a high-end butcher and deli shop called Il Fiorentino, with old mosaics on its walls and yuppie customers elbow to elbow.

TO reach the Piazza Borghese, you begin at the foot of the



Piazza Navona is one of Rome's many small city squares.

Spanish Steps, aim southwest and stroll the length of Via Condotti and continue as the street name changes to Via Fontanella Borghese.

There won't be much reward for you if you make this journey in the late afternoon or evening: You'll probably find a newsstand,

a bunch of parked cars and about 15 locked-up, dismal-looking gray metal stalls.

But if you arrive between about 9 a.m. and 1 p.m. on any day but Sunday, those stalls will be open and bulging with rare books, old prints and antiques. Bronze busts, Century-old maps. Dusty old

leather-bound books.

A few shops surrounding the piazza display still more antiques and various other specialty items.

Piazza Santa Maria in Trastevere (which translates as "across the Tiber") was one of the city's poorest slums in the 19th century, and even now a wrong

turn can leave you in a marginal neighborhood. But in recent years, restaurants and bars have been breeding in the narrow streets, and here and there Trastevere can remind you of Paris's Left Bank, with lower rents.

There are still no hotels handy, but if you're near the Piazza

Navona or Campo de' Fiori, it's no great exertion to walk cross the Tiber on the all-pedestrian Sisto bridge (if you cross by night, pause halfway and look for the distant spotlighted dome of St. Peter's), make your way down narrow Vicolo dei Cinque, and turn left at the smallest Piazza di San Egidio.

If you do this by day, as I did on my first visit to the neighborhood, you pass many locked-up doors — bars and restaurants that will be opening later and filling with local and international students, twenty-somethings and others. (Rome's only English-language movie theater is also in the neighborhood.) But even in the slow hours, the alleys will probably be full of naughty children, flying soccer balls, laundry flapping in the breeze, and bent old ladies sitting along the sidewalk in splintered old chairs. At the center of all this lies the Piazza Santa Maria in Trastevere.

On one side, dominating the piazza, stands the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, fronted by sturdy columns, topped by a startling mosaic of a dozen figures against a field of gold.

Art historians say the mosaic, seven or eight centuries old, is a rare surviving example of what many medieval churches looked like before architectural fashions changed. Inside, there is more striking mosaic work, and even more gold.

Around the piazza's periphery stand two restaurants and the more casual Caffè di Matrino, where I spent an hour of my daytime visit nursing an orange juice and people-watching.

When I came back on a Saturday night, the cafe and restaurants were packed, and the whole piazza was vibrant with the sound of strolling guitarists, the cascading fountain and the din from the bars and restaurants down the street.

(Los Angeles Times)



Prof. Roberto Nardi tells a member of his team how to restore this bathhouse fresco. (David Grossman)

Bathhouse restoration: Masada's new attraction

NATIONAL sites used to be closed to the public while they were being restored, but these days the restoration work itself has become part of the attraction.

That's the case with the bathhouse on Masada — one of the most popular places at the country's most popular tourist site.

"We want the public and especially the tour guides to understand what we are doing and why we are doing it," says Professor Roberto Nardi, director of the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica (CCA), the Rome-based company contracted by the National Parks Authority to carry out conservation and restoration work at Masada with the Negev Tourism Administration.

According to National Parks Authority spokesman Ofer Grinstein, Masada receives about 2 million visitors a year. And Nardi says that about 3,000 people come to see the ancient bathhouse, originally built by Herod for his guests, every day. From now through June, they will also see the restorers at work.

During Pessah, thousands of tourists are expected to visit the site.

When they enter the courtyard of the bathhouse, the first thing they are likely to notice is a giant poster, a photograph of a Canadian forest at sunset, bearing the notice, "Just discovered." The poster is, of course, a joke.

"We chose it because it is the thing most removed from the cul-

tural context of the place that we could think of. We want people to enter with smiles on their faces," Nardi says.

The poster also serves to cover the metal wall of the on-site headquarters of Nardi and his international team of 10 experts. The team includes members from Spain, France and Turkey, as well as Italy. Nardi has also included four Israeli employees at Masada, who will remain and ensure that the building is properly maintained.

Nardi has some experience in Israel. Two years ago he was called in to restore the massive Nile mosaic at Sepphoris. That was the first time, he says, that an on-site restoration was conducted without removing the tiles and using traditional materials to replace the foundation.

IN THE bathhouse at Masada, this same technique is being used for a simple geometric mosaic in the courtyard. A thin layer of cheese-cloth has been glued to the tiles, keeping them in place. Nardi says he would be happy to see Israelis use his techniques to restore other buildings on Masada.

Visitors can see the techniques used by the restorers. Through a perspex window, they can watch Romana Albini of Rome painstakingly restore a fresco on the bathhouse wall. In the next room, they can see Vincenzo Ortu, also from

Rome, Jelal Kucuk of Istanbul and Emmanuel Caille of Paris all working on the inner walls.

Pointing to Kucuk, who is using a large syringe to insert mortar between the building stones, Nardi says the mortar is similar to that used in the original construction.

"We want to restore the structure as it was, not build a new, stronger building," he says. He adds that concrete was used in reconstruction work carried out 30 years ago, following the massive excavations on Masada. Over the years, it was found that the concrete had a deleterious effect.

Nardi says he uses low-tech procedures in the restoration, combined with high tech in planning and compiling information. The dust at Masada precludes the use of computers on-site, but they are utilized to draw up work schedules and to record thousands of work-in-progress details and photos.

Two on-site archeologists are producing a large-scale (1:20) drawing of the building, including every single stone and every trace of work on the stones. The drawings will serve as historic documents to be used in the future, Nardi says.

In the work on the building, the restorers take care not to take any drastic steps that cannot be undone. Nardi says he is guided by the realization that the techniques of today may be viewed as mistakes tomorrow.

"Never do anything you can't undo," he says.

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JULY may seem like a long time away, but for anyone who wants to attend the Olympic Games in Atlanta this summer, time is running short. El Al is planning a series of direct flights for the games and Ophir Tours has a special department with a stock of room reservations and tickets to various events.

One original option for a truly southern experience is to stay on a riverboat, the *Mississippi Queen*, represented in Israel by Med Cruises. The price of a three-night stay starts at \$546 per person.

Another option is a room in a

private home. Paula Gris of Bed and Breakfast Atlanta says that she has accommodations to suit every taste and budget. For information, tel. 001-404-875-0525; or fax 001-404-875-9672.

THESE DAYS Walt Disney World is not just a matter of bawling fun: Visitors 10 and up can have the option of attending the Disney Institute, with courses in culinary arts, animation, or lifestyle, along with some of the

more traditional Disney-type entertainment. A three-night family package at the institute sold by AREI Travel Wholesalers starts at \$516 each for two adults and \$212 each for two children.

BTC TRAVEL and Tours, a Jerusalem agency which usually specializes in travel for students and young people, is organizing a seven-night Pessah tour of Egypt with accommodation in five-star hotels for \$499. Travel is by bus

to Cairo and by train in Egypt.

MAP LTD. has come out with a new road atlas which includes scenic routes and sites, as well as areas now under Palestinian autonomy. The atlas, in Hebrew or English, comes in two sizes and sells for NIS 64 or NIS 79.

A GOLFING vacation in Turkey, at the Attaleia Club Hotel in Belek, north of Antalya, is being offered by Clal Aviation. Prices, including air fare, start at \$320 for a three-night weekend and \$315 for a four-night midweek stay.

TRAVEL TIPS

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TASE stable for whole week

ISRAELI stocks closed almost unchanged for the day and week as Maof Index options expired and traders expressed concern yesterday about an inflation report due in two weeks.

The Maof Index fell 0.08 percent to 205.1, while the Two-Sided Index eased 0.18% to 195.26.

The Two-Sided Index slipped 0.36% for the week while the Maof eased 0.21%.

"Enough investors had options on the Maof at 205 or 210," leaving them little incentive to push the index higher, said Mark Meiras, analyst at Pacific-Mediterranean Securities in Herzliya.

"Maybe also some people are chewing their nails over the next inflation report [for March]. I've heard 1.3% bawdied about, I don't think it will be that high," he added.

Consumer price inflation for both January and February was 0.9%.

The stock exchange will trade for only three days in each of the next two weeks because of Pessah.

The three most heavily weighted stocks on the Maof - Bezeq, Koor Industries Ltd., and Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd. - fell, dragging down the index.

Koor Industries was the most active share on the exchange, down 1% as NIS 6.8 million of shares traded.

Bezeq fell 2%, while Teva eased 0.75%.

Across the Tel Aviv stock exchange, about NIS 79.2m. traded, about the average for the month. Three issues fell for every two that rose.

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INFLATION

INFLATION. Includes tables for Dollar crossrates (US) and Labor rates.

Foreign financial data courtesy of CommStock Trading Ltd.

Foreign financial data including Futures, Options, Stocks, Bonds, and Mutual Funds.

US commodities

US commodities table listing various goods and their prices.

London commodities

London commodities table listing various goods and their prices.

Spot market metals (US)

Spot market metals table listing various metals and their prices.

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

INTERNATIONAL STOCK PRICES. Table listing various international stocks and their prices.

NEW YORK. Table listing various New York stocks and their prices.

PARIS. Table listing various Paris stocks and their prices.

FRANKFURT. Table listing various Frankfurt stocks and their prices.

FTSE rises on late news

LONDON (Reuters) - Late buying interest spurred by renewed bid talk helped leading shares reverse earlier losses to finish the day marginally higher.

Under pressure throughout the session, a flurry of activity in Cable & Wireless as bid talk bubbled to the surface, helped lift the market mood just ahead of the close.

The FTSE 100 finished up 0.2 points at 3,672.6, the day's best, after rebounding from 3,650.0 in early afternoon.

FRANKFURT - Germany's blue-chip DAX index ended trade barely above the crucial 2,500-point level as lower German bonds and a touch of vertigo after Wednesday's record highs forced a correction on the market.

The IBIS DAX index of electrotrically traded shares closed the day at 2,502.94 points, down 20.87 points or 0.83 percent. The DAX had closed below trade at 2,508.44, down 16.98 points.

PARIS - Shares closed lower, in line with bonds and other European Bourses, on some disappointment the Budesbank and Bank of France did not cut their interest rates. The Joss also ended a three-day winning streak for the Paris Bourse, which came close to its year-high level on Wednesday. The CAC-40 index closed down 10.54, or 0.52 percent, at 2,019.97.

ZURICH - Shares closed lower, led down by weak bonds and weak stock markets in Germany.

Dow drops by over 20 points

NEW YORK (AP) - The Dow Jones average of industrial stocks was 5606.65, down 20.23 points at 2 p.m. EST yesterday.

Until the US switches its clocks to Daylight Saving Time, the Dow Jones results published in the paper will be from earlier in the day in New York. Trading on the NYSE closes at 4 p.m.

Handwritten note: 'מלא מן האט' (Filled from the hat)

CURRENCY CROSS RATES. Table listing various currency exchange rates.

מקראות גדול

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Orbotech CLASSIFIED DEADLINES The deadline for Friday, April 5, is Tuesday at 4 p.m. The Advertising Department

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* Capitalization - discharging the sum total of future payments in a lump sum.

A personal letter with detailed explanations will be sent to all those eligible to take part in the campaign. For further information, please contact the bureau nearest to your property, as following:

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WJC finds WWII Jewish assets in Swiss banks

Documents reveal unclaimed Jewish property

NEW YORK (Reuter) - The World Jewish Congress, which is involved in a dispute with Swiss banks over the unclaimed assets of Holocaust victims, said yesterday it had uncovered US intelligence files detailing millions of dollars held in Jewish accounts in one Swiss bank alone.

The WJC said it has turned over the previously classified documents from a US post-war probe of Nazi-confiscated funds called "Operation Safehaven" to Senate Banking Committee chairman Alfonse D'Amato, who has said he would hold hearings on the unclaimed assets issue.

A WJC spokesman said a preliminary study of the first six of an estimated 100,000 documents showed that in 1945 one Swiss bank, Societe Generale de

Surveillance S.A., had 182 mostly Jewish foreign accounts that would be worth \$29 million by today's standards.

The Swiss Bankers Association said last month that it had uncovered only 775 unclaimed accounts in all the Swiss banks from 1933 to 1945 with a present-day value of \$33 million.

The WJC, which had been negotiating with the banks on returning the assets to heirs and survivors, has called on the Swiss to allow outside auditors to verify the results of their investigation.

The WJC spokesman said D'Amato had written to lawyers for the Swiss Bankers Association asking them to submit proof of what happened to the claims in the Societe Generale de Surveillance S.A.

New terminal opens at Ben-Gurion

Tourism officials bemoan empty hotel rooms

AS officials at Ben-Gurion Airport prepare for record-breaking crowds by opening a new terminal, innkeepers are wringing their hands over the fact that they still have rooms available for Pessah, when they are usually all sold out.

According to the Airports Authority, about 140,000 passengers are due to pass through the Ben-

HAIM SHAPIRO

Gurion Airport today. The passengers include Israelis going abroad for Pessah and foreign visitors arriving for the holiday and for Easter, which also falls next week.

To cope with the continuously increasing numbers, the authority has opened a new terminal, at the

site of the former Arkia terminal. The newly renovated terminal is to continue to serve domestic flights and will also serve as the outgoing terminal for a number of charter flights.

After checking in and receiving their boarding cards, the passengers are to go by shuttle bus to the outgoing passenger hall of the main terminal.

Sarid: Radioactive waste is stored safely

ENVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid has again rejected claims that radioactive waste stored at the Negev Nuclear Research Center (NRCN) is a danger to the population, the environment, or water reservoirs.

Sarid was responding to recent reports by Egypt and Saudi Arabia regarding a supposed leak from the reactor in Dimona. Sarid also received requests for

Jerusalem Post Staff

clarification from ambassadors in Israel on behalf of their governments.

Sarid noted that the radioactive waste is handled as required, in accordance with strict safety regulations. Moreover, funding has been authorized to store radioactive waste by newer methods taking advantage of the best technology existing today, he said.

In a statement released yesterday, the Atomic Energy Commission backed up Sarid's claims.

"The waste matter of all types is securely stored in accordance with optimal international criteria. A geological cross-section of rock strata prevents any possibility

of contamination of the underground water in the area.

"The Ministry of Environment monitors the air, ground, and water of the region surrounding the NRCN. No radioactive contamination, which could potentially endanger the population; has been found," the statement read.

In addition, much of the material stored at the site "loses its radioactivity in a relatively short time (from a few days to a few months), before any damage is caused to the barrel" in which it is stored, according to the statement.

The NRCN is also significantly smaller and better maintained than the nuclear power stations at Chernobyl and Hajjubiya, the statement pointed out.

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Baby born on Yavne highway

A man successfully delivered his fifth child via cellular phone while he, his wife, and other four children were in a car under a Yavne highway bridge on Wednesday night. Magen David Adom workers gave the steel-nerved father instructions over the phone and then arrived to cut the umbilical cord and wrap the healthy baby girl in a sterile sheet.

"What should I do, the baby's head is already visible," said the father over the car phone to Yossi Levy, who was on duty at MDA's Ayalon branch in Rishon LeZion.

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Magic puts on show for former coach

MIAMI (Reuter) - It must have seemed like old times for Pat Riley...

and Johnson - in 1990. "Pat is like my father and a big brother...

John Starks added 19 for New York, which was trying to complete a sweep of the "Texas Triangle"...

Table with Eastern Conference and Western Conference basketball standings.

Maccabi Haifa tries to keep in title chase

THERE is no single major soccer clash in this weekend's National League fixtures list...

Herziya. Both Beit She'an and Haifa will both be going all out for a win...

Yehuda will be an interesting, if uninspiring fixture in the Negev while Hapoel Tel Aviv will be looking to hammer out another win...

Marquis matchup highlights Final Four weekend

THIS year's Final Four is a game of twos. Two favorites, two underdogs...

And the team that wins its next two games will be crowned 1996 NCAA basketball champ.

Neither team had a difficult time in the regional finals - the Atlantic 10's UMass downed Georgetown...

UMass, in the Final Four for the first time, is led by Marcus Camby, the top center in the country...

Kentucky, which hasn't won an NCAA championship for 18 years, fields 10 top-notch players...

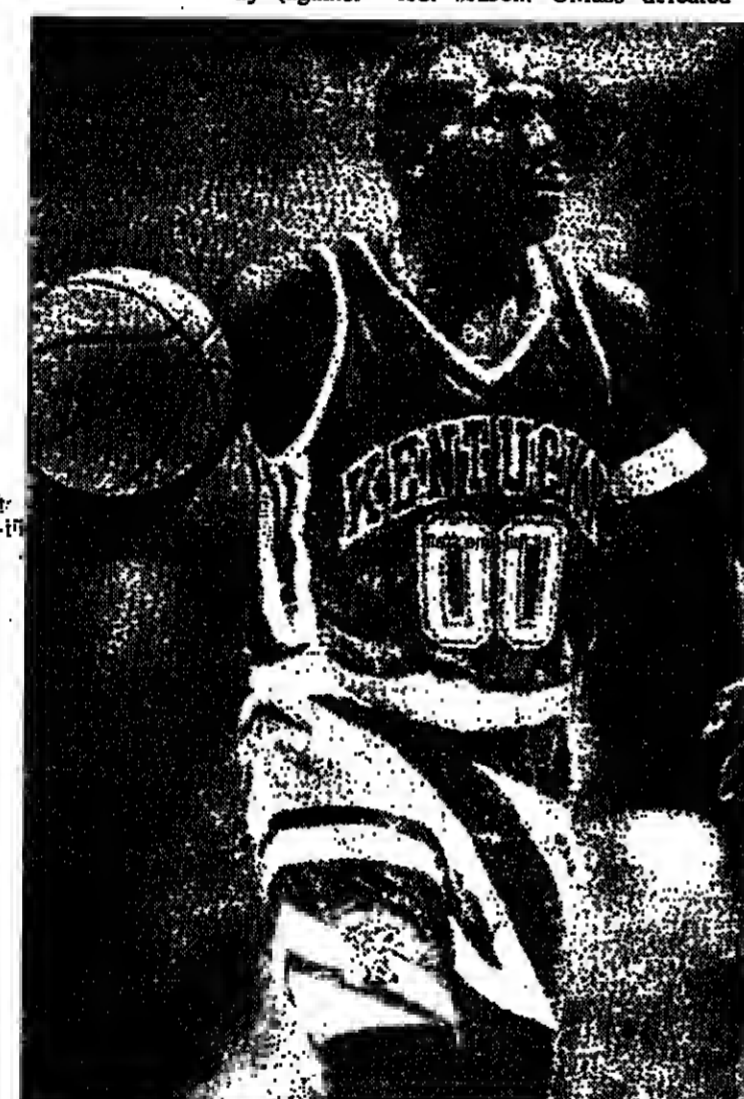
His major challenge this year has been finding the right chemistry among some of the country's best athletes...

The team is led by long-distance sharpshooter Tony Delk and forward Antoine Walker...

With the Wildcats' depth, Pitino's famous pressing defense and tempo offense are a perfect match for the nearly perfect team.

But nearly perfect won't be good enough this weekend against the Minutemen...

PREDICTION table with Eliot Zimelman's predictions for Final Four games.



SHARPSHOOTER - Tony Delk brings Kentucky's chances upcourt.

Final Four on TV

BASKETBALL fans are urged to make sure they get their Shabbat nap this week - coverage of the NCAA's Final Four tournament...

Kentucky earlier in the year by 10 points, and with both teams at the top of their game...

In Saturday's opening game, Big East rep Syracuse takes on the second SEC member of the Final Four, Mississippi State.

The Orangemen, seeded fourth in the West, are led by power forward John Wallace...

Syracuse's problem, however, is everything besides Wallace. Big man Otis Hill...

Mississippi State, which was unjustifiably seeded a low No. 5 in the Southeast...

The team is led by center Erick Dampier and superb JUCO transfer, forward Dontae Jones.

The Jones-Wallace matchup should be the highlight of this game, but with each star canceling the other...

Look for the Bulldogs to edge the Orangemen in a defensive struggle.

And look for another prediction early next week.

Israel cruises into Fed Cup playoff stage

ISRAELI women scored their third consecutive victory and secured a playoff berth in the Fed Cup Euro/African Zone Group II tennis event at Ramat Hasharon yesterday.

All four of Israel's women took part in the tie against Macedonia and they lost nine games between them in an easy victory over the former Yugoslav province.

In other Fours action yesterday, (Section A) Ireland beat Australia 27-17 and Malawi 45-10; (Section B) Canada drew with Norfolk Island...

ISRAELI Gucca Chichiasvili took the bronze medal in the European Greco-Roman wrestling championships in Budapest yesterday.

LONDON (Reuter) - European championship hosts England dominated the first half and gave a gritty performance in the second to deservedly beat fellow finalists Bulgaria 1-0 in a friendly international at Wembley on Wednesday.

The only goal of an absorbing match watched by a disappointing crowd of 29,000 came after seven minutes when Les Ferdinand chested down a superb 30-meter pass from man-of-the-match Teddy Sheringham to fire past Bulgarian captain and goalkeeper Borislav Mihailov, winning his 91st cap.

Bulgaria did have the ball in the net 20 seconds from time but the goal was disallowed after substitute Daniel Borimirov was adjudged to have handled before Emil Kostadinov scored.

Bulgaria was without their star player Hristo Stoichkov who aggravated a back muscle in training on Tuesday.

Bowls Fours in double loss

ISRAEL'S chances of finishing in the top eight of the quadrennial World Bowls championship, which would guarantee them a slot in the next tournament, looked dimmer when the Fours lost to the US 18-16 and to Wales 28-22 in Section D matches yesterday.

In the overall final standings of the Fours, Israel ranked ninth, three points above Hong Kong and five adrift of Canada.

Today, Jeff Rahkin plays Canada and Hong Kong in the singles.

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Bruguera won't play against Israel Davis Cuppers

SERGEI Bruguera has pulled out of next weekend's Davis Cup tie against Israel at Ramat Hasharon but the Spaniards are not holding their heads in despair.

Alberto and Carlos Costa, not related, 16 and 30 respectively in the world rankings, will be the key players with Alex Corretja (68) and Emilio Sanchez (101) leading a hand.

Bruguera asked to be released, pleading that mentally and physically, he is not at his best right now.

Israel TV will broadcast the matches live, beginning at 2 pm, next Friday.

Yael's silver warm-up Yael Arad is shaping up for Atlanta in a big way, competing in the Italian Open in Rome, Arad (61kg) won the silver medal, losing to the Netherlands' Jenny Gal in the final on a judge's decision.

More gold as archer Yaron Kolesnik won the Students World Championship in Lyons, France, setting a new students world record of 117 points out of a possible 120.

Kolesnik's participation in the Olympics is not yet certain, but if two-thirds of the archers from the Lyons event are going to Atlanta, his result will be accepted as the Olympic criterion.

A first for Yagur Hapoel Yagur's men's table tennis team won its first ever title this week, beating Hapoel Lod 3-0 in the State Cup final.

Full coverage of all the baseball teams and all the latest NBA, British soccer and college basketball news, in the 12-page supplement, The World of Sport. DON'T MISS IT!

Can Dodgers take 5th straight rookie award?

NEW YORK (AP) - Never mind the pressure of trying to impress Tom Lasorda or hoping to fit into a lineup that won the NL West last season.

No, the real pressure on Todd Hollandsworth may come from the past. After all, it'll probably be up to him to keep alive the Los Angeles Dodgers' streak of producing the NL rookie of the year as the Major League season starts on Sunday.

The Dodgers have turned out the last four, those being Eric Karros, Mike Piazza, Raul Mondesi and Hideo Nomo. No team has had more - in fact, it's called the Jackie Robinson Award in honor of the Dodgers player who won the first award in 1947.

season and hit five home runs in 103 at-bats. He'll start in left field, having beaten out once-promising Billy Ashley, and will try to extend the Dodgers' rookie streak to five in a row.

A look at other top rookies on the rise as the season starts: Catcher: Jason Kendall. The son of former big league catcher Fred Kendall, this Pittsburgh prospect is trying to make the jump from Double-A to the majors at age 21.

First Base: Tony Clark. The 6-foot-7 former college basketball player is hoping Detroit will make someday make a spot for him by moving Cecil Fielder to DH. A moving Cecil Fielder to DH. A moving Cecil Fielder to DH.

After losing Roberto Alomar to free agency, Toronto gets another switch-hitter from the minors. Good hitter with power at Triple-A, but needs defensive improvement.

Shortstop: Derek Jeter and Rey Ordonez. The best two shortstop prospects play in New York. Jeter, at 21, his line drives, shows a strong arm and has strong All-Star potential for the Yankees.

Another power product of the Dodgers' system, was traded to Minnesota in a deal for Kevin Tapani. Could end up at first base for Twins.

Huskey, once out of favor with the Mets because of weight problems, hit a ton in spring training and may have earned a job in right field. Hosey has done most everything right in the minors and is finally getting a chance at 28 to play center for Boston.

Pitchers: Jason Schmidt, Paul Wilson, Alan Benes, Terry Adams. Schmidt is said to be set at 23 to become Atlanta's No. 5 starter. Wilson, a former No. 1 Mets' draft pick, led minor leagues in strikeouts last season.

Spring Shuffling Injuries to Tony Fernandez and Benji Gil have the Yankees and Texas Rangers doing some late shopping, and both teams have been looking toward Seattle where smooth Felix Fermin is available.

Fermin, a one-time starter and now a backup on the Mariners, can play either shortstop or second base. The Yankees want someone at second while Fernandez is sidelined and Pat Kelly is recovering, and perhaps would want to send odd-man-out pitcher Scott Kamieniecki to Seattle.

The Rangers need a shortstop after losing Gil, although they signed infielders Jeff Frye and Spike Owen to minor league contracts this week.

The Orioles, after picking up Tony Tarasco as an extra outfielder this month, are looking for a backup catcher. Toronto's Randy Knorr is a possibility. Gold Glover Tom Pagnozzi of St. Louis might also be available, at a higher price.

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SCOREBOARD

Table with baseball scores for various teams including Boston, Philadelphia, Montreal, NY Rangers, Florida, Detroit, Buffalo, Chicago, Colorado, Calgary, Los Angeles, Edmonton, Toronto, Vancouver.

Advertisement for The Jerusalem Post sports supplement, featuring a photo of a soccer player and text about coverage of all baseball teams and college basketball news.

Peace Watch: Hebron pullout, covenant change not linked

THE Oslo 2 Accords do not link the IDF's pullout from Hebron, which had been scheduled for yesterday, with the amending of the Palestinian Covenant, Peace Watch, an independent monitor of the peace process, said yesterday in a legal opinion.

The pullout has been postponed for an undefined period until the Palestinian Authority sufficiently tightens measures against terrorism. However, Peace Watch said Israel cannot justify delaying the pullout on grounds that the Palestine National Council has not amended the covenant, nor can the PLO justify delaying the amending of the covenant because the IDF did not pull out of Hebron yesterday as scheduled.

According to Peace Watch, the accords do not link the obligations, and the linkage is illogical chronologically since the PLO cannot be in violation of its obligation to change the covenant until May 7, two months after the inauguration of the elected Palestinian Council.

However, the organization

LIAT COLLINS and Jerusalem Post Staff

added that the PLO cannot use the IDF's failure to withdraw as a legal basis for delaying the amending of the covenant, since the obligation to do so was set for two months after the convening of the council, whose date was not even set in the accords, while the pullout was to be six months after the signing of Oslo 2.

Peace Watch noted that had PA President Yasser Arafat called for the elections to be held in mid-January and inaugurated the council immediately thereafter, the deadline for amending the covenant would have been mid-March, before the scheduled withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the IDF stepped up its military presence in the town yesterday, residents said.

"We in Hebron feel sad because we were expecting the departure of Israeli occupation forces today and we see it is not happening," said Mayor Mustafa Natshe.

Members of the PNC Council yesterday called on Arafat to de-

clare March 28 a day of Palestinian identification with Hebron. After a meeting with Hebron notables, the council members issued a handbill attacking Israeli policy and stating that delaying the IDF withdrawal from the city was a dangerous step that exposed Israel's plot to go back on the Oslo accords and continue its settlement policy and land expropriation in the city.

National Religious Party leader Ze'evulun Hammer said yesterday an IDF withdrawal from Hebron would create a serious security threat. "The government is apparently relying on a short collective memory and underestimates the level of intelligence and comprehension of the Israeli public as [government] emissaries are racing to reopen the campaign preparing the ground and public opinion for a hasty IDF withdrawal from Hebron," Hammer said.

Hammer accused the government of not sticking to even the basic positions which it had itself determined as critical to the security of the State.



Five hundred Russian immigrant boys recite the 'Shema' during a bar mitzva ceremony yesterday for them and 500 girls celebrating their bat mitzva at the Western Wall. (Brian Hender)

Ginsburgh's detention overturned

HERB KEINON

SUPREME Court Justice Dalia Dorner yesterday overturned the administrative detention of Rabbi Yitzhak Ginsburgh, head of the Od Yosef Hai yeshiva in Nablus, saying he does not constitute a threat to the public.

Dorner said that nothing in the information presented to her could serve as a basis for holding Ginsburgh. Calling administrative detention a very serious step, Dorner said the government

should have used other legal remedies if it thought Ginsburgh posed a threat.

This was the first time that the court has overturned an administrative detention order because of insufficient grounds. In 1988, the court overturned an order on a technicality, saying that the term of the particular order -

against a Palestinian - went beyond what was lawful.

"I imagine that those in charge thought it over a number of times before detaining Ginsburgh, a known public figure," said Ginsburgh's lawyer, Naftali Wertzberger. "And if they still detained him, and the court ruled there was insufficient reason to do this, then it has to call into question the detention orders against those who the officials probably don't give as much thought to before locking up."

Ginsburgh was detained on March 7 for two months because he allegedly made extreme statements against Arabs after the recent suicide attacks in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Ashkelon.

A Foreign Ministry statement circulated to Israeli consulates abroad explained the detention on March 12 by saying that Ginsburgh is a rabbinic authority with "a long record of incitement to violence, inflammatory rhetoric, and has developed a theology of revenge whose tenets he spreads wherever he can."

WEATHER

Golan	9-22
Halla	12-28
Jerusalem	10-24
BeerSheva	11-31
Dead Sea	16-51
East	15-30
Tiberias	10-30
Azra	10-30
Sarona	11-31
Tel Aviv	15-28

Forecast: Hot and dry.
Shabbat: Partly cloudy, decline in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Low	High	Cloud
Amsterdam	8	12	clear
Berlin	5	11	clear
Brussels	6	12	clear
Chicago	3	9	cloudy
Copenhagen	6	12	clear
Frankfurt	7	13	clear
Geneva	6	12	clear
Hamburg	7	13	cloudy
Hong Kong	19	25	clear
London	6	12	clear
Los Angeles	15	22	clear
Madrid	10	18	cloudy
Moscow	5	11	clear
New York	4	10	cloudy
Paris	7	13	clear
Rome	8	14	clear
Stockholm	6	12	clear
Toronto	4	10	clear
Zurich	7	13	clear
London (cont)	6	12	clear
Toronto (cont)	4	10	clear
Vladivostok	10	16	cloudy
Vancouver	4	10	clear
Vienna	6	12	clear
Washington	4	10	clear
Seoul	3	9	clear
Singapore	24	30	clear
Sydney	15	22	clear

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